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The Shape of Things

THE ATTACK ON THE STRONGHOLD OF TRUK is the boldest step yet taken by the Allied forces in the Pacific war. Destruction of this powerful base would so weaken the Japanese position in the Southwest Pacific that the entire area south of the Mariana Islands and east of Yap and the Netherlands Indies might have to be given up. The seizure of Truk is probably the most important single goal for the navy short of the Philippines and the China coast. For Truk is the only island in the entire South Pacific suitable for development as a major naval base for the final attack on the Japanese homeland. However, we have not yet attempted to land on Truk, and Japanese reports to that effect were either the result of panicky expectations, or, more probably, intended to preface stories of a repulse. The attack was a softening-up raid made by carrier-based bombers, which caught and sank an impressive number of Japanese naval and cargo vessels, as well as heavily punishing ground installations. At the same time it served to prevent any interference by the enemy with our seizure of the Eniwetok atoll, possession of which gives us an advanced base for later operations against Truk. Admiral Nimitz's offensive is rolling according to plan, and no one can any longer complain that the war against Japan is being neglected.

*

THE ARGENTINE POLITICAL CRISIS HAS arisen as the result of a clash of personalities, and a division of opinion regarding methods, rather than by reason of any ideological split in the ruling military-nationalist camp. The conflict came into the open with the leakage of plans for a declaration of war on Germany and Japan. Immediately a group of young officers occupied the Foreign Office and forced the resignation of General Alberto Gilbert, the Foreign Minister, and Enrique P. Gonzalez, Presidential Secretary, who together with President Ramirez composed the inner triumvirate of the government. There is no reason to suppose that Ramirez had suddenly become a sincere convert to the cause of the United Nations. But he was under strong pressure from America and Britain, and, to his disappointment, his mere break with the Axis in January had not produced any sign of the lend-lease

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armaments which he was counting on to regain parity with Brazil. In addition, according to some well-informed commentators, it was his intention to order a general mobilization following the declaration of war—a step which might have enabled him to regain control of the officers' corps. The Foreign Office coup, carried out by a group whose sense of solidarity with the Nazis did not allow them to stomach the triumvirate's opportunism, has put Ramirez in the humiliating position of being forced to deny that he contemplated war or that undisciplined officers had ousted his Foreign Minister. This revelation of weakness substantiates our frequent assertion that Ramirez is merely a dummy for still more sinister forces.

*

IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL accept most of the recommendations made by Bernard Baruch and John Hancock for demobilization and reconversion of industry, and, if he does so, business at least will have no cause to kick. For the report of these two eminent graduates of Wall Street is, as one would expect, based squarely on the philosophy of private enterprise. Its whole purpose is to get the government out of business as rapidly as possible, to dispose of all government plants and to liquidate all government controls. Provided we create "that atmosphere in which private initiative and resourcefulness can flourish," there is, we are told, no need for depression. Within this frame of reference Messrs. Baruch and Hancock have made a number of sensible proposals. They endeavor to provide speed in terminating contracts and clearing the way for reconversion to normal production with administrative safeguards against fraud. They urge measures to ensure that small business will be given full opportunity to buy surplus materials, machinery, and property, and suggest special credit provision for such enterprise, including liberalization of the Federal Reserve System loans. To guard against the cornering of surplus production facilities by monopolies they propose that the Attorney General be placed on a Surplus Property Policy Board. Their report leads off with recommendations for dealing with the "human problems of demobilization" but the sketchiness of this section contrasts oddly with the detailed provisions made for the solution of business problems. Another significant feature is that while great emphasis is placed on the usefulness of the industry advisory committees of the War Production Board and suggestions made for their strengthening, nothing is said about the need for close association of labor and consumer organizations in the tasks which the report outlines.

*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S GENIUS FOR WINNING when the blue chips are down has never been more effectively demonstrated than in his triumph in the long-drawn-out subsidy fight. For months Republicans and recalcitrant Democrats had won overwhelming victories in every important test in the House and Senate on the anti-subsidy bill. But when the President delivered a scorching veto message, making it clear that those who voted against subsidies would have to assume responsibility before the American public for the collapse of the entire stabilization program, the House sustained him by a margin of twenty-five votes. Election-year politics undoubtedly played a much larger role in the entire fight than most Congressmen would like to admit. Many Senators and Representatives appear to have voted against subsidies in the secure knowledge that the bill would ultimately be vetoed, thus strengthening their position with the farm bloc without running the risk of actually destroying the stabilization program. The battle is not yet over, of course. The opponents of subsidies will undoubtedly try the same tactics again when the bill for the extension of the Price Control Act comes up for consideration. But with the election approaching, we cannot believe that the final result will be any different from the outcome on this occasion.

*

MR. CHURCHILL HAS PROMISED ARMS TO the French underground, according to unofficial reports from Algiers. We hope these reports are true, not only for the sake of the many brave Frenchmen who have been fighting the Nazis with bare hands, but for the sake of the American and British troops who must soon undertake the invasion of Europe. No one any longer doubts that the establishment of beachheads and the penetration of the German defenses which stretch far inland will prove one of the most formidable tasks ever tackled by an army. But it can be lightened if we give our friends on the Continent a chance to help us. Behind the German lines there is already the nucleus of a guerrilla army which could do untold mischief to enemy efforts to concentrate troops and supplies at the points of danger. The Germans are well aware how great this threat from within can be, and with the aid of their Vichy puppets they are making frantic efforts to conscript for slave labor all men of military age in France and to round up the thousands who have taken to the bush. Under Joseph Darnand, a veteran fascist terrorist who has been charged by Vichy with the "maintenance of order," special mobile forces have been organized to hunt down the underground fighters, and stringent economic measures are being taken to starve them out. To enable them to resist, to help them keep their organizations intact for the day of invasion, it is imperative that the trickle of arms that has been delivered by parachute to the French guerrillas be rapidly increased. In a recent speech President Roosevelt spoke of the approaching moment when the Nazis will learn that the people

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of France are not out of this war. We can count on the French to fulfil this prophecy if we give them the tools for the job.

*

THE DIES COMMITTEE HAS ADDED LITTLE TO public knowledge of the Peace Now movement and in fact omits a lot of illuminating detail previously brought to light by enterprising reporters for the New York *Post, World Telegram,* and *PM.* These investigators had turned up a good many leads suggesting links between Peace Now and figures in extremist pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist organizations, including some now under indictment. The Dies probers, however, have chosen to concentrate much of their fire on a mysterious Norwegian, John Albert Collett, who for a time acted as field secretary for Peace Now. His official connection came to an end last fall with his conviction in Cincinnati as a "peeping Tom"—an offense which the Dies committee describes with understandable delicacy as "too disgusting to be recounted in all its details." Collett, it is alleged, obtained a passport from the Nazi authorities in Oslo after the German occupation of Norway, but this suggested link between the Nazis and Peace Now is not followed up in the report. In fact, the evidence presented by the committee hardly sustains the charges of treason it makes against this organization, pernicious as its propaganda is and indifferent as it seems to the company it keeps. Moreover, its membership and financial support appear rather picayune compared with that of some other organizations up and down the country which combine pacifism with divisive agitation of various sorts. If Mr. Dies really wants to expose treasonable activities, there are pools to be fished in the Mid-West promising embarrassingly big catches. Judging by his past performances, however, his hasty job on Peace Now is only a gesture of impartiality heralding a really rip-roaring "investigation" of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee.

*

THE FOURTH WAR LOAN DRIVE EASILY exceeded its announced goal and to that extent must be counted a success. But it was a success made possible by institutional and corporate investors—other than commercial banks—which topped their quota by a large margin. In spite of—or could it be because of?—the tremendous ballyhoo which accompanied the drive, individuals failed to produce the volume of dollars expected. Up to date, individual subscriptions total only 72 per cent of their allotted quota, but some of the leeway will be made up, as the campaign is to be extended until the end of the month. There is therefore still time for those who have been disinclined to heed the call to "sacrifice," or those who have been repelled by the use of this very inappropriate word, to make a thoroughly sound investment yielding a very favorable return. Incidentally, it may be noted that the lower-income groups have made a much better showing than those more comfortably situated. Sales of the E bonds, the small man's investment, have been far in excess of those during the third war-loan drive and will almost certainly exceed their quota at the final tabulation. The lag has been in the marketable issues which are designed to appeal to large investors, and the explanation is that subscriptions have been discouraged by the Treasury's efforts to prevent speculative purchases. In so far as such purchases merely served as window-dressing both for the Treasury and the "patriots" who made them, the lower total for this category of bonds compared with that achieved in the last drive may reflect a greater volume of real savings. But whatever the explanation, it appears that people in the higher income brackets are not, as a class "backing the attack" to the full extent of their ability.

Wendell in the Lions' Den

THE country, it seems to us, is obligated to Wendell L. Willkie for launching the 1944 Presidential season well above the wardheeler's level. Dispensing with the calculated coyness of the professional, Mr. Willkie announces early in the game that he is a candidate and that he thinks the nation is confronted with certain major issues, which he proceeds to enumerate and discuss—all in violation of the traditional rules of winning blocs and influencing delegates. What is more, he challenges his audiences to make miserable the lives of all candidates. "Take no man on faith," he warns: "make him tell you what he believes."

Mr. Willkie thus assumes in fact what candidates generally concede only in rhetoric, to wit, the intelligence of the electorate. And he has made a good beginning of subjecting his own views to the test of that collective intelligence. It required political courage for a Republican leader to urge heavier taxes rather than "economy" as the way to reduce the national debt; to come out bluntly in favor of the federal soldier-vote bill, and to warn farmers against the "good-old-days theory that it no longer is necessary to depend on supported prices, a soil-conservation plan, and federal guaranties of stable market conditions." It required not only courage but political insight to call on the people for further sacrifice —the Churchillian appeal for blood, sweat, and tears— rather than pander to their natural but none the more noble inclination to grouse about gas restrictions and the nuisance of rationing.

By addressing himself in this way to the understanding and fundamental decency of the voters Mr. Willkie

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places other functionaries of his party in an unenviable position. The larger he grows in stature the more they tend to shrivel. Contrasted with his frankness, the cool slyness of Governor Dewey seems picayune rather than potent. Beside his posing of the issues Landon's cry that "fascism is here in America, and its name is the New Deal" sounds like the shrill hysteria of an abandoned fishwife. About the fatuousness of the Brickers and the manic raving of the McCormicks nothing need be said here.

But this very isolation of Willkie from his fellow-Republicans is the strongest argument against his candidacy. And it is on this score that he abandons logic and prefers to ignore the record. To illustrate President Roosevelt's failure to hold the support of his party in Congress, Willkie told a Seattle audience, "The Secretary of the Treasury presented what I regard as a wholly inadequate tax measure, and yet a committee, a majority of which was made up of members of the President's own party, refused to give him more than one-quarter of the amount asked for." Would the Republican minority of that committee, who were all too glad to join their Democratic colleagues in slashing the President's request, have supported the still higher figure suggested by Mr. Willkie?

No more than they did in fact support the head of their party on the most important measures of the past four years. Willkie favored repealing the arms embargo, but House Republicans opposed repeal by a vote of 143 to 21, and Senate Republicans by 15 to 8. Willkie favored lend-lease, but his party in the House opposed it 135 to 24; in the Senate 17 to 10. A majority of Republican Senators, like Willkie, favored the draft act, but House Republicans voted against it 112 to 52. The list can be extended indefinitely, but to add only the most recent instance of the gap between Willkie and his Congressional colleagues, we refer him to the fight in the House over the federal soldier-vote bill, which 18 Republicans favored as against 175 opposed. Judging by his own standards, there is little sense in Willkie's contention "that the most positive and constructive instrumentality to solve a task of such magnitude [post-war reconstruction] is to be found in the Republican Party."

The "constructive instrumentality" is furious enough at Mr. Willkie as it is. If circumstances dictate his nomination, the Hoffmans, Fishes, and Nyes will accept his leadership with the same degree of warmth and admiration that the Dieses, Coxes, and Wheelers entertain for Mr. Roosevelt, the titular head of *their* party. Enthusiasm will not be lacking, but it will be less the spirit of a following than that of a pack in full cry. The main difference between Roosevelt and Willkie in this respect is that the one is a veteran master in the art of handling politicians, the other a wide-eyed neophyte.

The Test of Crowley

ONE of the most interesting aspects of the report recently made available by the Kilgore committee on international cartels is the ease with which important German concerns slipped back into German hands after the last war. One of the most important of these was the Bayer concern, whose properties and patents were sold to Sterling Products after a promise in December, 1918, that they would not be allowed to return to German ownership or control. Prior to the sale the Alien Property Custodian of that time investigated and found "no taint of German ownership—direct or contingent—and no trace of German influence—near or remote—in the company." But by 1924 the dyestuffs part of the business was back in the hands of Bayer, subsequently becoming the core of the business now known as General Aniline and Film. And even earlier than that, by 1919, Sterling Products—now Sterling Drug, Inc.—had promised to pay the old German owners 50 per cent of its profits on the sale of pharmaceuticals in Latin America. By the time World War II began, Sterling was helping I. G. Farben—which Bayer helped to form in 1926—to blackjack anti-Nazi papers in the Argentine and to evade the British blockade. It is in the light of this past record of good governmental intentions, corporate deception, and broken promises that one must read Leo T. Crowley's first report as Alien Property Custodian in this war. Crowley does, indeed, say that in disposing of these properties he will reserve "the right to weigh, in addition to monetary considerations, the competence of the bidders to maintain the property as a valuable producing concern, their willingness to maintain it as a freely competing institution, and operate it with due regard for the national interest of the United States." Crowley, too, has pledged himself not to let these properties and patents slip back into alien hands, where they may again become the basis of international cartels.

But as our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, pointed out in his letter last week, the patent policies applied by Crowley, the men with whom he is associated in his $75,000-a-year job as head of Standard Gas and Electric, the policies he is following in the management of alien business concerns, and the directors he has appointed create serious misgivings. The key to the job he has been doing lies in the directors and managers he has appointed to operate the alien businesses he has taken over. His report fails to provide a list of those directors and managers; it is clear from his veiled references that in many cases existing managements have been left in control. The public should be fully informed of such cases so that it may judge for itself whether the men are reliable. In one case uncovered by Stone in *PM*, a leading member of the Schroder banking family was long vice-

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president and director of the Schering Corporation under the Alien Property Custodian, although the Schroders were the bankers for Schering in the international hormone cartel. Crowley has appointed Victor Emanuel, his employer in the utility business, to the board of General Dyestuffs and five of Emanuel's associates to the board of General Aniline and Film, although Emanuel was backed by the Schroders financially and the Schroders had many links with I. G. Farben, parent concern of General Aniline and its sales subsidiary, General Dyestuffs.

General Aniline is the most important German concern in the Americas. The Germans, shrewder this time than last, placed key stock control in the hands of Germans who became naturalized Americans and in the hands of Dutch and Swiss dummy corporations. It will be hard to keep the concern from going back to these nominal owners once the war is over; now, while we are in possession, is the time to reorganize General Aniline and to break its cartel ties with I. G. Farben. But after being two years in possession Crowley has yet to take such action. These policies and appointments and this inaction seem a better clue to what Crowley has been doing than his pious rhetoric about preventing "the reappearance of restrictive international cartels." Crowley has indicated his intention of resigning as Alien Property Custodian. We hope his successor will show more understanding of the problem. If he does he will reject Crowley's policies and many of his appointments.

Peace Terms for Japan

I: Military

RECENT revelations of the cruel and barbarous treatment of American prisoners of war by their Japanese captors have destroyed the possibility that anything short of the unconditional surrender of Japan will be tolerable to most Americans. But there has been little public discussion of what the actual terms ultimately imposed should be, though the United States will probably play a much more active role in settling the terms for Japan than those for Germany, with which both Russia and Great Britain are more directly concerned.

At the Cairo conference the leaders of Britain, China, and the United States agreed that Japan should be stripped of all territories seized by aggression since 1895. This means that Japan's future boundaries have already been established for the most part—the one element of uncertainty being Russia's possible attitude regarding the southern half of Sakhalin and the northern Kurile Islands. Stripping Japan of its empire is perhaps the most important single step that can be taken to prevent Japanese militarists from renewing their bid for world domination in another twenty or thirty years. For Japan's present economic and strategic strength lies very largely in its empire. Japan's armament industry is dependent on the iron and coal of Manchuria and North China. Sakhalin was its only important domestic source of oil before the war. And Japan's naval and air strength has been made far more effective by possession of strong outlying bases in Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, and the mandated islands.

It must not be assumed, however, that the loss of this territory, vital though its resources have been in building up Japan's present strength, will permanently destroy all danger of Japanese militarism. Numerous other military, political, and economic limitations will have to be imposed on Japan before there can be any such assurance. Most Americans are disposed to be severe without having any clear idea what effect any particular proposal may have on Japanese psychology or the future well-being of Asia's millions. Mere vengefulness, or an effort to keep Japan in a state of permanent subjugation, will, however, be self-defeating. The Japanese are an able, resourceful people. If they are left with nothing to live for except the prospect of revenge, they will ultimately try to make another bid for glory.

There will be general agreement on the necessity of taking every precaution against such an uprising of the Japanese militarists at some later date. As a minimum Japan should be required to surrender what may remain of its navy and air force. All munitions of war should either be destroyed or turned over to the United Nations. More important, all plants and all shipyards capable of producing military equipment should either be destroyed or converted to the production of peace-time goods. The Japanese army should either be limited to a small token force or disbanded, preferably the latter. All pilot training should be prohibited, even under civilian auspices.

Enforcement of these terms will require the stationing of international inspectors in all important Japanese cities for many years to come. Without question these inspectors will be resented as living symbols of Japanese humiliation. Yet not a single one of those restrictions can be safely omitted.

Alone, even these precautions cannot serve the purpose of keeping Japan at peace. The key to success in dealing with that country will not be the effectiveness of disarmament measures but the extent to which the outlook and motivation of the Japanese people can be changed. This in turn depends on whether the spirit of militarism can be rooted out of Japanese psychology after the defeat. Military safeguards will have to be supplemented by positive political and economic measures designed to encourage the growth of democracy and thus undercut the resurgence of militarism. The possibility of developing such measures attuned to the peculiarities of Japanese society will be discussed editorially in early issues of *The Nation*.

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Victory Lies in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

BASIC Allied strategy in the Pacific war has been made clear recently both by the unfolding of offensive action and by the statements of high naval and military leaders. Although assaults will be made at many places on the perimeter of Japanese defenses, the main attack will presumably be straight across the Pacific, backed by all the striking power of the American battle fleet, its ultimate objective being the seizure of one or more ports in China to serve as bases for the final drive against Japan itself.

On his return from an inspection trip to the newly conquered Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshalls, Admiral Nimitz was completely frank regarding this basic strategy. Declaring that in his opinion "Japan can only be defeated from bases in China," he said that his objective was "to get ground and air forces into China so that we can start the ball rolling." He added that it was no secret that "we shall try to land wherever we can in China." The same view was expressed a few weeks ago by General Henry H. Arnold, chief of the Army Air Force, in a report to Secretary of War Stimson. General Arnold asserted that "potentially" China constitutes "our most effective base for aerial operations against Japan."

The qualification in General Arnold's statement is significant. For under present conditions China is hardly more than a minor front in the Pacific war. Most Americans find this gap between China's potential importance and its actual role puzzling. There has been relatively little analysis, even in general terms, of the difficulties which have hindered and still stand in the way of effective use of China's geographic advantages and immense human resources for a major thrust against the enemy.

The primary obstacle to full utilization of China as a base is, of course, the hitherto insoluble problem of supply. It is now generally recognized that the reopening of the Burma road will not materially relieve the bottleneck in transport. An increment of 20,000 or 30,000 tons monthly, which is the best that can be expected during the first year after the Burma road is reopened, would be insignificant in terms of supplying an American force, although it might strongly support the efforts which the Chinese themselves are making. Consequently no marked change in the situation can be expected until Canton or other South China ports are regained and placed in full operation by United Nations forces. Even then it will be exceedingly difficult, within any short period, to transport and equip a large *foreign* expeditionary army for operations in China. It is true that a gradual improvement in the delivery of supplies is taking place, even under present conditions. Tonnage carried from India by air already exceeds the 15,000 to 20,000 monthly maximum formerly handled by the Burma road. It will further increase when General Stilwell's new huge cargo carriers start operating in the near future. The next step, dependent on military successes in northern Burma, may be the extension of the Ledo road to some junction point along the Burma road. Then will come the reopening of the Burma road itself. The limited total tonnage that can be brought in, however, will continue to impose restrictions on strategy and to demand the greatest possible utilization of Chinese resources. Thus for the immediate future progress tends to be restricted to (1) the full equipment and activization of Chinese land armies, and (2) the establishment in China of foreign specialized units, mainly air forces.

The problem of placing the greatest possible number of adequately trained and equipped Chinese divisions in the field for the offensive that General Stilwell has said will accompany Admiral Nimitz's drive to the China coast is being tackled from various angles. For more than a year a considerable number of Chinese troops have been receiving training in India in the use of the most modern equipment. Some of these Chinese troops are now attached to the Fourteenth Army, which is operating in northern Burma. Within China itself the best-trained army divisions are already capable of sterling performance in the field under the most exacting combat conditions. An expeditionary Chinese force consisting of such divisions has been organized and placed under the command of General Ch'en Ch'eng, one of the ablest of China's military leaders. This force, it is expected, will drive into northern Burma—and later, probably, into Thailand and Indo-China—in coordination with an offensive launched by Lord Louis Mountbatten.

For the ultimate campaign that will drive the Japanese out of China far larger Chinese forces will be required. Some of these are already available and facing the Japanese, but they need additional equipment in order to pass from the defensive to the offensive. Others are immobilized by political conditions within China. One of the best of the Chinese central armies, generally estimated at about 500,000 troops, is assigned to a military blockade of the so-called Border Region, the base area of the Chinese Communist forces. The excellent equipment and leadership of this army, commanded by General Hu Tsung-nan, would make it a powerful contin-

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gent of the forces needed for the final offensive against Japan. But its use requires a political solution of the differences between the Chinese central authorities and the Communist leaders.

If this political solution could be obtained, it would open the way to full utilization of the final contingent of land forces needed for a full-scale offensive—the Chinese Communist armies themselves. These armies are currently engaging the Japanese in all the North China provinces and in many parts of the Yangtze valley. Their exact strength is not known. Last summer, when civil war threatened, the Communist leaders indicated that they could rely upon 500,000 troops to counter any attack directed against them. The regulars of the Eighteenth Group Army and the New Fourth Army are the equals in organization and leadership, if not in equipment, of the crack divisions of the central armies. Much larger guerrilla forces are operating in conjunction with the regular troops. Ably led and well disciplined, they form a major reservoir of military effectives.

But before any offensive against Japan's armies of occupation can be undertaken, a powerful air force must be built up in China. The necessity of creating such a force is enhanced by the fact that the China front affords an opportunity to set up air bases within striking distance of Japan's vital industrial centers. A good beginning has already been made. In China today the United States Fourteenth Army Air Force is slowly extending the scope of its operations, both in tactical support of the Chinese armies and in the strategic bombing of enemy areas and supply lines. According to General Arnold, however, strategic bombing has merely entered its preliminary stage. "We have no intention," he told Secretary Stimson, "of allowing our air operations from the Asiatic mainland to remain on the level of guerrilla warfare. Neither Japanese shipping nor Japanese industry will survive the bombing in store for them."

At present the bases of the Fourteenth Air Force are restricted to the area south of the Yangtze River. Its strategic bombing orbit takes in northern Burma and Indo-China, most of Thailand, the islands of Hainan, Hongkong, and Formosa, and China's southern coastal waters and ports from Shanghai to Canton. While extensive, this orbit still lies too far south for maximum strategic effectiveness. Of the targets listed above, only Formosa possesses industrial installations of any importance; the primary targets lie farther north—in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. If concentrated bombing raids are to be launched against Japan's inner empire, air bases in North China are essential. From certain sections of the Shantung promontory or from the coastal areas of Kiangsu above the Yangtze estuary, for example, long-range bombers could attack the greater part of Japan's industrial heartland.

Units of the Eighth Route Army or its guerrilla auxiliaries occupy much of the interior of Shantung, including the eastern promontory, and units of the New Fourth Army are operating along the coast of Kiangsu above the Yangtze estuary. These facts do not suggest that the Fourteenth Air Force would immediately find it possible to establish air bases in those areas. Air bases require secure lines of access and supply and must be defended by land armies capable of holding off large-scale attacks. But the extensive territory held by the Communist forces in North China should be utilized to the full in pushing the air war against Japan's economic centers.

In considering the possibilities in this field, it is necessary to have in mind the general military-administrative picture in North China. The whole area eastward from the bend of the Yellow River to the coast is covered by a network of guerrilla bases, ensconced between the main rail and river lines of communication held by the Japanese. Between the Yellow River and the coast five major guerrilla administrations exercise authority over large parts of Suiyuan, Chahar, Shansi, Hopei, Honan, Shantung, and Kiangsu provinces. No exact figures on the population of these guerrilla areas are available, but an estimate of 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 is well within the range of probability.

The guerrillas' headquarters base is west of the Yellow River in the Border Region, whose capital is at Yenan in Shensi. The Border Region consists of twenty-odd counties in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, with a population of about 2,000,000. Here are located the Eighteenth Group Army's military headquarters, the major educational institutions and training schools, some of the medical centers, and the central offices of the chief Communist political and military leaders. None of the Border

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Region is occupied by Japanese forces; the "regular front" of the Communists extends along the bend of the Yellow River, the region's eastern boundary.

We have seen that sooner or later, as our military operations make progress against Japan, it will be necessary to establish air bases in North China. What are the immediate possibilities of action along this line? The Border Region is securely defended against Japanese invasion. It also occupies a strategic position for the initiation of air attack upon Japan's inner zone. The greater part of North China is within effective bombing range of planes operating from a base in this area. The key installations of the Kailan mines, supplying a major part of Japan's best coking coal, could be attacked, as well as the vital North China rail system, which carries large amounts of coal, iron ore, cotton, salt, and grains, the ports of Tientsin and Tsingtao, and sections of Japan's northern sea lanes. If two conditions are met, it should be possible to establish an air base in the Border Region at once. These conditions are the accumulation of adequate supplies by the Fourteenth Air Force, and the lifting of the blockade which now prevents access to the region, even for foreign military observers.

After establishing an air base in the Border Region, it would be necessary to push out toward the coast, through Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung, and create additional bases in those provinces. In the last analysis, the military problem here would reduce itself to one of strengthening the land forces in the area sufficiently to defend such air bases. The effectiveness of the guerrilla forces operating in these North China provinces reduces the difficulties of such a task. In the key areas chosen for air-base sites, an adequate defense could be speedily assured by feeding in certain amounts of rifles, machine-guns, and light mountain guns to the guerrilla forces. Over much of the North China territory lend-lease supplies of this kind would enable the local guerrilla commands to pass over to an offensive that would seriously embarrass the Japanese forces of occupation. Such action, however, must again wait upon a solution of the blockade problem.

The necessity for working out some settlement of China's internal political problems as a prerequisite to the development of an all-out offensive against Japan appears to have been faced at the Cairo conference. One of the correspondents covering the conference reported that "the conferees took cognizance of the fact that internal differences between the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist armies must be overcome before China could be opened as a primary base for direct attack against Japan itself." Subsequent reports from Chungking fail to say definitely whether progress has been made toward a solution. Direct negotiations are believed, however, to be under way between government representatives and Communist emissaries. An agreement is by no means impossible. It will be recalled that a working arrangement between the rival groups existed in the early days of the war. Each side subsequently accused the other of violating this arrangement. But it could conceivably be reconstituted much in its original form if sufficient pressure were brought to bear on both groups. This pressure might well come from China's allies. For it is evident that what originally could be regarded as simply a private Chinese quarrel has become a basic problem affecting the nature and length of the Pacific war.

[*The effect of China's internal economic difficulties on its functioning in the war will be discussed by Mr. Stewart in an early issue.*]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THIS WOULD SEEM to be an unfortunate time for the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants of New York . . . to urge the discontinuance of the United States Employment Service. Whatever its failings, the Employment Service is the only organization prepared to combat on a nation-wide scale the growing menace of unemployment. . . . The returned soldiers are everywhere demanding that the government which took them bodily from their homes and their work shall see that work is restored to them—good work at good wages. . . . It would be well for . . . employers who look forward with satisfaction to a glutted labor market to read the contemporary history of Belfast and Glasgow.—*February 8, 1919.*

STRIKES ARE MANY, widespread, and obstinate in all major branches of British industry. The City Corporation of Belfast has been superseded by a strike committee or industrial Soviet, "uncommonly well organized," as one dispatch admits, which administers the affairs of the city from its sessions in Artisans Hall. Important public utilities of Glasgow are controlled and administered by the local strike committee, whose power appears to be increasing so rapidly that the city looks forward . . . to a state of things essentially similar to that existing in Belfast.—*February 8, 1919.*

THE PEACE CONFERENCE, in dealing with the problem of the disposal of the German colonies and of parts of Turkey, is said to have adopted the policy of placing the colonies in charge of mandatory powers. . . . Mandatories have an ugly habit of forgetting their mandate and of considering their temporary charges as permanent property.—FRANZ BOAS, *February 15, 1919.*

"THE HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA. A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men." By Thorstein Veblen. . . . With so much of concession to those who insist that ways and means and balances of powers are the true ends of man, let the concluding emphasis of the book remain: that Mr. Veblen, like President Wilson, places himself with those who believe in principles first.—*February 22, 1919.*

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If We Take Arabian Oil—

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 18

THE proposed Arabian oil deal brings us to the first great crossroads of post-war international policy. In one direction lies a new world order; in the other, a return to imperialism, with all it entails. To go into a colonial country and buy oil concessions by favors to desert sheiks, to embark on a long-range program for the exploitation of natural resources which belong to another people, is imperialism, however we choose to disguise it.

We are going into an area without representative government, a Biblical corner of the world whose people are likely in this generation to be inundated by modern ways. It is quite probable that, after awakening, they may resent, as the Mexican people resented, the transfer of the natural riches of their country to aliens, particularly aliens as arrogant and ruthless as our great oil companies have shown themselves to be in dealing with the weak, whether at home or abroad. One may be sure that these companies will do nothing to hasten the region's awakening, that they will link themselves with and support the most backward elements, political and religious, in Arab lands as they did in Latin American. The familiar imperialist headaches lie ahead of us if the Arabian oil deal goes through.

If we are to depend on Arabian oil, we must be prepared to defend the sea and air routes over which it must travel to the United States. The air routes across Africa, the sea lanes through the Mediterranean, will become national lifelines. We have a two-ocean navy; we shall need a three-ocean one. The Mediterranean, as well as the Atlantic and the Pacific, will become our concern. Any increase of British or French or Italian or Turkish or Russian naval or air power in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern areas will call for a comparable increase in our own. Arabian oil is supposed to be very cheap, and no doubt will continue to be so as long as Arab governments are willing to sell their resources cheaply, and Arab workmen will provide their labor at low wages. But what will the real cost of this oil be when we finish paying for the armament required to defend it?

If we have learned anything from this war, it is the precarious condition in which even the greatest of powers may find itself when dependent on distant sources of supply. We have seen how quickly and easily the American, British, and Dutch empires, with all their power and their supposedly impregnable fortresses, were cut off from their sources of rubber, tin, quinine, and many other raw materials, including the oil of the East Indies. We have seen that the possession of these raw materials was in some degree an obstacle to their national defense; Britain's oil and rubber interests, for example, successfully fought the establishment of synthetic sources of supply at home. For under capitalism these resources in lands which on the maps bear the same color as our own do not belong to you and me; these resources are in the hands of independent economic sovereigns whose profit and interest often run counter to those of the national sovereigns who defend them. Judging from the tenor of current discussion in Washington, I think all this needs to be spelled out again.

In peace time those who have the oil will be only too happy to sell it to us. In war time it will be sold to any power which controls access to it, whether its nationals were the pre-war owners or not. Military power will decide the question even before war has broken out, as the military power of Japan before Pearl Harbor provided the final argument for the sale to Japan of East Indian oil, nominally owned by the British, Dutch, and Americans. Economic interest will override national advantage; the Japanese had no trouble in buying scrap from us, though they were hardly in a position to seize Pittsburgh, as they were in a position to seize Borneo. It is true that in the "principles of proposed agreement" between the government and the oil companies it is said that "no sales of petroleum or other products will be made by the companies to any government or the nationals of any government when, in the opinion of the Department of State, such sales would militate against the interests of the United States." Let us not forget how easily these oil companies succeeded in deceiving the State Department, how willingly the State Department was deceived, how passionately it fought embargoes on the sale of our own domestic oil and scrap to Japan before the war.

The propaganda campaign which preceded this proposed Arabian oil deal is much like that which made it possible for Standard Oil interests after the First World War to muscle in on British oil preserves in Iraq. Now as then the aim has been (1) to spread fear that our oil resources are nearing exhaustion, and (2) to arouse suspicion of the British. Figures on oil resources need careful investigation; they seem to be adjusted upward or downward according to what the oil companies want at the moment. When it is proposed to begin the production of oil from coal, such Standard Oil experts as Per K. Frolich assure us that we have ample reserves of

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petroleum for this century anyway. When it is desired to embark on the financing of foreign oil resources, we are told that our oil is on the verge of exhaustion. In 1922, at the height of the last post-war scare, a committee of noted oil geologists assured us that we had only five billion barrels in reserve; proved reserves today, twenty-two years later, are twenty billion barrels.

"There is little enough oil left in the Western Hemisphere and in the United States in particular," Secretary Ickes recently wrote Senator Mead; ". . .our reserves in this country have a relatively short life expectancy of fourteen years." But the report made here by the Truman committee puts this estimate differently. It says that proved reserves are equal to but fourteen years' supply "based on current consumption," which is a horse of another color, for consumption today is at abnormal war-time levels. Let us compare these figures with those in the report of the National Resources Committee to the President in January, 1939. This report, on "energy resources and national policy," says that in 1938 we had fifteen billion barrels in reserve, or a twelve-year supply at the 1937 rate of consumption. So that we find ourselves today, in the midst of a great war, with five billion barrels more in reserve than we had then and a two-years-longer life expectancy, even at war-time rates of consumption. The final touch in this picture is supplied by a speech which Wallace E. Pratt, petroleum geologist of Standard Oil of New Jersey and its one "liberal" director, made before a Sigma Xi luncheon at Columbia University on December 6 last. Pratt said our petroleum reserves would probably last a hundred years; that recent scare stories were based on half-truths; that *proved* reserves were not necessarily a reflection of actual reserves; that the proved reserve has many times been low in our history; and that at least one-half of the prospective oil-producing territory of the United States has not been explored.

I believe the Arabian oil deal will serve to retard development of oil possibilities at home. I note that the big oil companies hope to couple it with "conservation" of resources in the United States—that is, restriction of domestic output and an international oil compact for restriction abroad. The National Resources Committee, in discussing the question of our future petroleum supply, dwelt on the role to be played by improved technology. The committee pointed out that from 1922 to 1936 the geologist had helped drillers add 10.8 billion barrels to reserves despite the production of 12.8 billion barrels during that period. It pointed out that from 1920 to the end of 1936 the chemist, by improved cracking processes, had conserved 8.5 billion barrels of crude oil, or an amount equal to three-fourths of total production from 1922 to 1936. It pointed out that today 65 to 85 per cent of the available oil still remains in the ground "after a field no longer yields oil by the older methods of production," and that this enormous margin of wastage is a challenge to the petroleum engineer. Finally, the committee reported that "the volume of the coal resources of the United States is such that they may be depended upon [by hydrogenation and other processes] to provide an adequate supply of motor fuel for many centuries after a shortage in crude petroleum arrives." Is money likely to be invested in the development of these possibilities so long as low-cost Arabian oil is available? Wouldn't we be better prepared against emergency if we developed these possibilities instead of becoming dependent on a distant and precarious source of supply?

The reserves of Arabia have been as exaggerated as the reserves of the United States have been understated. "Estimates by responsible authorities of the total reserves in Saudi Arabia," the Truman report says, "have varied from two and one-half billion barrels to twenty billion barrels, but most experts estimate it to be between two and one-half and three billion barrels." The figure used by most newspapers is twenty billion barrels. Coupled with this has been an alarmist and nationalistic exaggeration of the share we are supplying to the fuel requirements of United Nations in the war. The United States is currently producing about 70 per cent of all the petroleum used by the United Nations, and this is represented as a disproportionate sacrifice, though it would hardly seem so when equated with the greater sacrifice of men and resources by the Soviet Union and Great Britain. But the real reason we supply so much of the war's oil is because we control so much of the world's oil within and without our borders. Our share in the fueling of the war is almost exactly the same as our normal share in world petroleum production, which was 70.6 per cent in 1938, the last peace-time year. Two-fifths of the world's known reserves are within our own continental borders, and Americans control 57½ per cent of the total world reserves. Under these circumstances, to picture the United States as a duped and plundered oil pauper is ludicrous. Just how much of the world's oil do we propose to hog! The oil scare hit the headlines in the wake of the tour of the five Senators to combat areas last summer. The Truman report is based, presumably, on their findings—actually, on their preconceptions. The best of the five, Mead and Brewster, proved themselves extraordinarily naive, shallow, and credulous in discussing the Near Eastern oil situation. The worst, Chandler of Kentucky, a member of the "Beat Japan First" and anti-British blocs, had obviously an ax to grind. The whole drift of the Truman report is in the direction of an intense Anglo-American imperialist struggle for oil in the Near East. Its frame of reference is not a new world order in which basic resources may be developed for the benefit of all peoples. Its frame of reference is that we'd better hurry up and grab some oil before those wicked British take it away

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from us. It is not irrelevant to recall that before the war the Standard, Texas, and Gulf companies were allies of such great Nazi concerns as I. G. Farben against the Anglo-Dutch oil and rubber combinations. This kind of anti-British talk plays beautifully into German hands.

The kind of thinking the Senate has done in this field is indicated by the Truman report's discussion of the role government should play in the Arabian development. Government ownership of foreign oil concessions, the report says, "would presuppose a radical change in our economic system," while "partial government ownership . . . might discourage private enterprise." Did Britain become a socialist country when Churchill in 1913, under similar circumstances, insisted on obtaining for the British government majority control of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company?

Atoms at Work

BY ORLANDO ALOYSIUS BATTISTA

DURING the past decade or two scientists have literally exploded the atom and in so doing have brought to light many phenomenal universes never dreamed of before. By a rather simple calculation, if you know how to make it, it can be shown that the air which occupies the finger space in a thimble contains at least thirty billion molecules. If all the clocks in the world were kept wound up, it would take them a hundred centuries or more to tick out the number of atoms in a single drop of rain water. If you were able to count the atoms on the surface of a speck of dust which could be seen only under a microscope, you would find they numbered millions. So when we talk about atoms we are talking about infinitesimally small particles of matter, particles so small that man will never be able to see them no matter how powerful he may build his microscopes.

Fifty years ago these atoms were looked upon by the world's foremost scientists as hard, discrete, indivisible particles of matter which formed the building bricks of everything in the universe. But the concept of the structure of matter that had held sway for some twenty-five centuries crumbled into myth when such men as Thomson, Rutherford, Lawrence, and a host of others published the results of their researches. Today we know with the certainty that comes from reliable experimental evidence that each little atom is a veritable universe in itself, having a sun-like nucleus at its center and many planetary electrons—units of pure electricity—whirling about this core at speeds exceeding those of many planets in their orbits.

The discovery of the atom universes with their incredible riches was speeded up by the invention of an American scientist, Ernest Orlando Lawrence. A little more than ten years ago Professor Lawrence succeeded in producing a powerful atom-smashing machine, called a Cyclotron, which already has opened up dozens of new avenues of scientific research. More than forty of these machines are now in existence, most of them in the United States. The original one is at Charter Hill in Berkeley, California, where its inventor, with the aid of a capable group of associate scientists, hopes to use it to reveal even greater marvels in the hidden world of the atom. The Charter Hill Cyclotron is so powerful that it will be able to produce invisible electric bullets propelled by more than 100,000,000 volts and traveling at a speed in excess of 50,000 miles a second. The penetrating power of the "accelerated" electrical particles will be so intense that they could be made to cut through steel very much as a knife cuts through butter. The scientists who run this monster have to operate it by remote control in rooms 150 feet distant.

A glance at a few of the momentous discoveries made by our atom-smashing scientists delving into matter with electric rays instead of microscopes shows the possibilities of further work in this field. We know now, for example, that all matter, even the armor-plate on our battleships, is literally full of holes. It has been proved beyond question that 99.9 per cent of the mass of all matter is concentrated at a mathematical point in the center of each atom universe. This leaves so much free space inside the atom that the core, which contains all the weight, may be compared to an orange suspended in the center of Radio City Music Hall. The human body is so full of empty spaces that if we removed all of them from Joe Louis he would shrink to the size of an aspirin tablet.

But smashing the atom has brought forth a lot more than this amazing fact. Nuclear physicists can bombard an atom of mercury and change it into gold, an atom of magnesium and change it into sodium. In addition to being able to make new elements almost at will—though in relatively minute quantities at the present time—scientists can bombard the atoms of some of our most inexpensive salts with extremely fast electrically charged or neutral bits of matter and obtain what are known as radioactive salts. These salts are of great value in medicine, for they are as effective as radium in curing certain

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malignant diseases. Their rays are as potent as radium's, but they give them off for only a few days, whereas radium will continue to give off powerful radiations for centuries. For this reason the artificially produced radioactive salts are more practical to use than radium, besides being far less expensive.

An important field of radioactive research today is concerned with the quest for specific radioactive salts that are not harmful and that will allocate themselves selectively in cancerous parts of the human body. Since it is known that cancerous tissue can be destroyed by means of carefully controlled exposure to radioactivity, the possibility of dispatching into various parts of the human body tracer bullets short-lived in their potency and capable of destroying diseased tissues selectively is a goal whose achievement would be invaluable to medical science.

When iodine that has been made radioactive is taken internally, it collects in the thyroid gland, a tendency that has enabled us to learn most of what we know about the workings of this vitally important gland. Radioactive calcium accumulates in the body in exactly the same manner as calcium which is not radioactive; with its aid it has been demonstrated that even when our teeth are fully developed they continue to absorb calcium from the food we eat. A speck of radioactive iron put in the food eaten by a cow enables us to see that in ten minutes' time the iron is present in the cow's milk. By putting radioactive substances in solutions or soil upon which plants depend for their nourishment, botanists have gained an intelligent insight into the complicated synthesis by which a plant converts water and sunlight into sugars and starches. When the element yttrium is made radioactive it can be used to detect flaws in battleship armor. Of course, the reason these radioactive materials can be used to such great advantage is that they give themselves away by the radiations they are constantly sending out. Extremely sensitive electroscopic detectors have been developed which permit scientists to chart their routes accurately.

The atom also offers us unlimited stores of energy. Physicists have authoritatively proclaimed that there is enough useful energy locked up in a jug of water to furnish more than a billion kilowatt-hours of electric power. The extraction of energy from the atom has up to now been accomplished only in a very small way. The difficulties to be overcome in this field of atomic utility are far more obstinate than those encountered in adapting radioactive substances for use in medicine, biochemistry, or genetics. Nevertheless, there is definite promise that some day it will be possible to extract and control atomic energy.

Thus the remarkable work of atomic scientists is benefiting mankind in a thousand ways, and the inspiring fact is that this work has only begun.

In the Wind

NUMBER, PLEASE! The commandant of an army camp tried to telephone an officer at his home in a nearby community. The officer's phone was on a three-party line, and for half an hour the commandant got nothing but busy signals. Finally he called the operator and asked if something couldn't be done about it. "After all," he said, "it isn't such a long distance. I could walk there in half an hour." "Okay, Bud," replied the operator, "get walkin'."

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has taken official cognizance of the servant problem. The London *Daily Mail* reports that Mr. Bevin's office is going into the matter and will probably make recommendations as to minimum wages and maximum hours.

PHONOGRAPH-RECORD COLLECTORS tell us they are no longer allowed to do any international swapping. It seems that some records have unintelligible background noises which the authorities fear might possibly be code messages.

GEORGIA'S SUPREME COURT has declined for the second time to review an examination on the basis of which the State Board of Bar Examiners has refused to recommend a license for George Elmer Ross, a Negro. The law requires the board to recommend licenses for all who pass its examinations. Mr. Ross, a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School, insists that he made more than a passing grade. In refusing to look at the evidence, the court held that the board is the sole judge of grades and that there is no appeal from its decisions.

SEVENTEEN LIVES WERE LOST when the steamer Northern went down a year ago. The Union Steamship Company, owner of the ship, was recently tried and found guilty of providing insufficient lifeboat accommodations. The penalty was a fine of $100.

THE QUALITY of the news broadcasts of the Nazi-controlled Paris radio is indicated by this item: "Alvarez del Vayo—typical representative of those Soviet-minded politicians who led Spain to her Calvary—has been in Casablanca since January 15." The staff of *The Nation* wonders who that man is who comes into the office every day. He looks, talks, thinks, and writes exactly like Alvarez del Vayo.

FESTUNG EUROPA: German reserve officers employed as supervisors in Belgian factories have been recalled to Germany for active service . . . Several members of Vidkun Quisling's private bodyguard have been arrested for listenings to news broadcasts from London. . . . The greatness of the Nazi soul was recently demonstrated in Holland when a quarrel over precedence between two officials of the Dutch "Chamber of Culture" made it necessary to hold two formal openings of an exhibition.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Brazil Has an Underground

THOSE who believe that the worldwide struggle against fascism can be successfully fought in alliance with fascists have been taught another lesson in political realism. Hardly a week had passed after Argentina's break with the Axis before Colonel Peron, Minister of Labor and Welfare in the Ramirez government, and a number of other officers undertook to "readjust" matters with an eye to the interests of Germany. It was to be expected. As Ghioldi, Solari, and other democratic Argentine leaders have repeatedly said, the problem for the Allies was not to help Ramirez simulate friendship for their cause but to help the Argentine people rid themselves of Ramirez. Only a government that represents the Argentine people can bring Argentina to the side of the Allies. Only coming from such a government will a break with the Axis make sense. The Allied diplomatic victory at Buenos Aires was one of those Pyrrhic victories which appeasers have been winning since 1938.

About the Argentine situation the American public is at least well informed; it knows that the Argentine fascists have the upper hand. But it is under a dangerous illusion about Brazil, which it hears described as the Allies' best friend in South America. It has even been induced to think that Getulio Vargas is becoming a little Lincoln under the influence of his northern mentors.

Brazil is, for Americans, behind a veil. A conspiracy of the press, the news agencies, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, abetted by Allied diplomacy, allows practically no political news to come out of Rio de Janeiro. Some documents have come into our possession, however, which cast a revealing light on the temper of the people and which we are therefore glad to bring to the attention of our readers. They have not been published hitherto in the American press.

It is extremely difficult in Brazil, as in any dictatorship, to circulate unfavorable comments on the regime. It is even more difficult to find anyone willing to print them. The press cannot publish them, of course, since there is a rigid censorship. Usually even commercial printers do not dare to print any criticism of the government, and therefore the opposition's documents are distributed in typewritten form; duplicating machines of all kinds, including mimeographs, are subject to strict surveillance. Persons found in possession of such documents or suspected of distributing them have been sentenced to prison terms of years. The risks that must be run in attempting to send any anti-government material out of the country explain why we have only now received this information.

To understand the significance of the documents, it is necessary to recall the background of the present political situation in Brazil.

Getulio Vargas first became head of the Brazilian government on November 30, 1930, as the result of a revolutionary movement to "perfect the democratic institutions of the country." He governed until 1934 with discretionary powers, and in 1934, when a constitutional democratic regime was reestablished, he was elected President of the republic by a Constituent Assembly. On November 10, 1937, he executed a coup d'état, under the pretext that the country was menaced by the Communists, and immediately decreed a "state of emergency." He then promulgated a new constitution, dissolved Parliament, banned political parties, arrested some democratic leaders and exiled others.

The "state of emergency" is still in force, and although the six-year Presidential term provided by the new constitution ended on November 10, 1943, Vargas continues to hold power. His excuse is that the war does not permit the holding of elections. To an increasingly rebellious population he promises that elections will be held after the war, of course according to the pattern of the corporate state as defined by the new totalitarian constitution.

MANIFESTO OF THE STATESMEN AND INTELLECTUALS OF MINAS GERAES

Early in November, 1943, a typewritten manifesto signed by numerous politicians and intellectuals of the state of Minas Geraes was circulated through the country. The signatories included Arthur Bernardes, President of the republic from 1922 to 1926; Affonso Penna, Jr., former president of the Liberal Alliance, from which the revolutionary movement sprang; Pedro Aleixo, former president of the House of Representatives of Brazil; Odillon Braga, former Minister of Agriculture in the Vargas government; Mario Brant, former president of the Banco do Brasil; Alaor Prata, former mayor of Rio de Janeiro; F. Mendes Pimental, an outstanding jurist; and many former members of the national Parliament, some of them Vargas's friends.

The manifesto was long and, according to the traditions of Minas, phrased in moderate language. Its spirit can be shown by the following quotations:

> Unity, in our opinion, is spontaneous harmony, not forced unanimity; voluntary and clearsighted of pur-

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THE RESOLUTIONS BEFORE CONGRESS

Similarly worded Resolutions have been introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressmen Wright and Compton and into the Senate by Senators Taft and Wagner, in regard to the White Paper on Palestine and the constituting of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The text of these Resolutions is as follows:

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians, and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Appearing before hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Tuesday and Wednesday, February 8th and 9th, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, made the following statement:

I appreciate this opportunity to appear before you in regard to the Resolution on Palestine that you are now considering. I am deeply grateful for the spirit that has animated you and your fellow-congressmen to take up the cause of the suffering, dispersed and persecuted Jews of Europe. The consideration that you are giving to that problem is one more testimony of the fine American tradition of sympathy with, and help for, the unfortunates of all faiths. It is of a pattern with the recent action of our President in naming a War Refugee Board and with the formation in this city of a Committee headed by such distinguished public figures as Justice Murphy, Vice-President Wallace, Governor Goodland of Wisconsin, Governor Maw of Utah, and others, to counter the dread cancer of bigotry in our national life.

I appear here, both in my own capacity as an American citizen of Jewish faith and as President of the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

This organization, let me explain, was founded only recently to enlist support among like-minded Americans of Jewish faith in our stress on the religious character of the Jews and in resistance to the forces of racialism which we believe to be false doctrines in Judaism.

It may interest you to know that in the brief period of a few months, we have enlisted an active membership of close to 2500 leading Jews all over the country and the interest and approval of many, many more. We are still, as you see, a young organization but, I daresay, we are probably the most rapidly growing organization in the Jewish community in the United States.

With this brief introduction, I beg to call to your attention the following, relative to the Resolution now before both houses of Congress:

The text of the Resolution calls upon the United States to use its good offices for two purposes. I ask you to note that there are *two* purposes, that they are distinct and different and that they are, therefore, properly subject to different reactions.

One part of the Resolution calls for taking "appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be open for the free entry of Jews." I do not wish here to linger over the phrasing of this part of the Resolution. I do want to say that the purpose of this part of the Resolution is plainly humanitarian, consistent with American humanitarian traditions and characteristic of our desire to expand democratic processes wherever they can be expanded.

As you know, this Resolution has as its background the White Paper issued in 1939 by the British Government as the mandatory power for Palestine which, among other provisions, shuts the immigration doors of Palestine to Jews and restricts their acquisition of land in that country.

In a recent statement issued by the organization which I have the privilege of heading, we said as follows:

> "We of the American Council for Judaism record our unqualified opposition to those provisions. In behalf of the substantial section of American Jews whose views on Jewish problems coincide with ours, we petition our Government to use its best offices to prevail upon the British Government not to proceed with so prejudicial and unjust a policy.
>
> "We base our attitude on this fundamental fact: that proposals which exclude Jews, as Jews, from right of entry and restrict Jews, as Jews, from the acquisition of land, do violence to the fundamental concept of democratic equality and thus to the very purposes and ideals to which the United Nations are pledged.
>
> "The American Council for Judaism is dedicated to the view that Jews, a religious community, shall have, as of right and not on sufferance, full equality all over the world. As stated in our Declaration of Principles, 'For our fellow Jews we ask only this: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nations.' This means equality in the countries in which we live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration.
>
> "We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world. There is no compromise on this basic demand."

This is the position of our membership and we believe that this viewpoint is supported by all American citizens of the Jewish faith and by an overwhelming body of our fellow-Americans of Catholic and Protestant faith.

We are, therefore, in hearty accord with the purpose of the first part of the Resolution. We feel that it seeks to express the profound and invaluable sympathy of the American people for those driven from their lands by tyranny and terror.

There is, however, a second section of the Resolution on which I feel obliged to convey to you, frankly and fully, our questions and our doubts as to its wisdom. It now reads, ". . . so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

I urge you to read and reflect on this part of the Resolution with the utmost care. This is no longer designed to serve a solely humanitarian purpose. This brings you, and through you — the American people — at once into a field of international controversy and into a subject that has deeply divided the Jewish community in this country.

(*Continued on next page*)

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The proposal, you will note, speaks of the establishment of a free and democratic "*Jewish*" commonwealth. I stress the word "Jewish." It does not say the establishment of a free and democratic "commonwealth." It specifically uses the word "Jewish," a word which has essentially a religious connotation only, although it has been used in a racial sense by the Nazi enemies of the Jews and of democracy.

But the concept of the theocratic state is long past. It is an anachronism. The concept of a racial state—the Hitlerian concept—is repugnant to the civilized world, as witness the fearful global war in which we are involved. We have reached a point of civilization where nations and states have their proper recognition without regard to the religious composition of their populations. I urge that we do nothing to set us back on the road to the past. To project at this time the creation of a Jewish state or commonwealth is to launch a singular innovation in world affairs which might well have incalculable consequences.

It may well be that this was in the mind of the King-Crane Commission in its report to President Woodrow Wilson and the State Department in the years after the last war.

You will recall that President Wilson, disturbed by the problems of the Near East, dispatched a Commission there in 1919 for a careful survey. This Commission, known as the King-Crane Commission, was to submit a report which would be of assistance in the final formulation of the peace treaties. With regard to Palestine, that Commission reported that "a national home for the Jewish people is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish state." No doubt, your predecessors of the 67th Congress of the United States had this report at hand when they adopted the Resolution which forms a preamble to your present Resolution.

I ask you to look at your present Resolution again and, especially, at that part of it which reads, ". . . so that the *Jewish people* may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

The language of the Resolution thus makes "the Jewish people" the agency for the establishment of a free and democratic commonwealth. Here are some serious considerations on that section:

The accepted procedure of democracy is to have a commonwealth established with the participation of *all* of its people or citizens. It is a self-contradiction to speak of a democratic state organism which is the creation of only a part of the population within the country. The population in Palestine is made up of Christian, Mohammedan and Jew. I believe you will agree with me that true democratic developments in that country can only come about as the result of the efforts and with the participation of all of the elements of the population. *All* of Palestine must share in the establishment of a democracy. Any exclusion is undemocratic in character and defeats the very purpose that your Resolution may seek to achieve.

Moreover, the language of the Resolution places the responsibility for creating a commonwealth at the door of "Jewish people," presumably those outside of Palestine as well as those in Palestine.

Yet I wonder whether the authors of this Resolution actually intended this to be the case. The "Jewish people" are not organized politically, are not and do not want to be a political unit. They are nationals, loyal citizens of the various countries in which they live. They are to be found in all classes, in all political parties, in all economic levels. They are united only in their common derivation from a great religion and in their natural resistance to those who would destroy them. This being the case, it must be clear why the language of the second part of the Resolution can only create confusion and encounter perhaps insurmountable difficulties. Jews in the United States and the world over, not being a national group but essentially a religious community, it is clear that *they cannot assume responsibility anywhere as a political unit.*

The development of such institutions, in the last analysis, must be the responsibility only of those in Palestine at the time such institutions are developed. All sections of the country, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, Palestinians all, whose proper concern is the welfare of their country, will determine and be responsible for its institutions.

In the Statement of Principles issued by the American Council for Judaism, we expressed the following views on Palestine:

> "Palestine has contributed in a tangible way to the alleviation of the present catastrophe in Jewish life by providing a refuge for a part of Europe's persecuted Jews. We hope it will continue as one of the places for such resettlement, for it has been clearly demonstrated that practical colonizing can be done, schools and universities built, scientific agriculture extended, commerce intensified and culture developed. This is the record of achievement of eager, hardworking settlers who have been aided in their endeavors by Jews all over the world, in every walk of life and thought.
>
> "We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism, and one which does not offer a practical solution of the Jewish problem. We dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America, or wherever Jews may dwell. We believe that the intrusion of Jewish national statehood has been a deterrent in Palestine's ability to play an even greater role in offering a haven for the oppressed, and that without the insistence upon such statehood, Palestine would today be harboring more refugees from Nazi terror.
>
> "Palestine is a part of Israel's religious heritage, as it is a part of the heritage of two other religions of the world. We look forward to the ultimate establishment of a democratic, autonomous government in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; a democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestinians whose religion is Judaism, even as we are Americans whose religion is Judaism."

I earnestly commend these views for your consideration. I believe that your own compassionate purposes will be fully served by retaining only the first part of the Resolution or by modifying its second provision so that it reads as follows:

". . . and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization in Palestine, ultimately to be constituted a free and democratic commonwealth."

We invite readers of *The Nation* to send us their opinions and to communicate with us on our program

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pose, not a sum total of insincere adherents. A nation which is forced into silence and deprived of the privilege of thinking and freely expressing its opinion is a corroded body, incapable of assuming the tremendous responsibilities attendant upon participation in a conflict of such proportions as the one which engages humanity.

If we are fighting against fascism alongside the United Nations so that freedom and democracy may be reestablished in all countries, it is certainly not too much to claim for ourselves the rights and guaranties which characterize freedom and democracy.

The reaction to this manifesto came quickly. Those among the signers who held public office, even civil-service positions, were dismissed. Lawyers for private concerns were dismissed, or they tendered their resignations so that their companies might avoid prosecution. The Banco Hypothecario e Agricola of Minas Geraes, some of whose directors had signed the document, was immediately taken over by the government. However, the manifesto continued to circulate by secret channels, with new signatures added.

MANIFESTO OF THE "CENTRO 11 DE AGOSTO" OF SAO PAULO

The students' association of the Law School of the University of São Paulo, known as the "Centro 11 de Agosto," has always been an active and fearless representative of public opinion in Brazil. It is the most important association of its kind in the country. At some of its meetings there were demonstrations for the reestablishment of democratic institutions in Brazil. Thereupon the police invaded the school and closed the Center's offices. Students who demonstrated for freedom in the streets were machine-gunned.

The Center then distributed a typewritten manifesto bearing the signatures of hundreds of law students. Some excerpts from it follow:

A little more than a year ago we, the law students, together with the other university students of São Paulo, led our people into the streets to demand that our country take a firm stand against the German aggression. This attitude was not prompted by momentary excitement. Long before our seas had been tinted with the blood of Brazilians murdered by the totalitarian enemy, we had been struggling for Brazil's effective participation in the war against the fascist gangs. The breaking of diplomatic relations with the Axis countries, the declaration of war last year, and the adherence to the Atlantic Charter were democratic actions on the part of our Foreign Office. They filled us with happiness and hope, for in them were foreshadowed definite changes in internal politics—that is, the country's return to its natural condition, to a regime of law and democracy. These hopes have now vanished.

The war policy adopted by the government in response to the appeal of our nation has practically lapsed. Unfortunately, the war is becoming more unpopular every day. The people are apathetic, and their best energies are being undermined. What is the cause of such a deplorable situation? We believe that the growing apathy of our people has its roots in their distrust of Brazil's present political regime.

After many other declarations of this nature, the manifesto concluded:

In Brazil *war has to begin in the country itself*, against disguised fascism and for real democracy—that is, for human dignity. A cry has been heard and victims have fallen. History repeats itself. Let our password be the first battle cry: Down with the New State!

LETTER WRITTEN BY GENERAL MANOEL RABELLO

General Manoel Rabello of the Brazilian army was one of the military men who brought about the revolution of 1930. He has always supported Vargas. He has been Intervener, or Governor, of the state of São Paulo, and has had high military posts. At present he is a judge of the Supreme Court of Military Justice. He is also president of the Association of Friends of the United States. In a letter addressed to Vargas General Rabello makes important revelations concerning General Gaspar Dutra, Brazil's War Minister, who is a pillar of Vargas's "New State." He says, among other things:

. . . In fact, there was a real obsession in the army for buying German equipment, although everyone except the pro-Nazis anticipated that Germany would not be able to furnish it. It was still to be manufactured, and the war would certainly begin before the date of its delivery. That is what happened. We paid in advance for the first consignment of the armaments ordered, but only a small part of it reached Brazil. . . . Up to now we have received nothing for most of the money we paid. For a long time there was strong opposition to buying American material, under the pretext that it would mar the uniformity of our equipment. Actually, this represented a very minor inconvenience, since the quantity of German material we had received was extremely limited, as compared to the total amount ordered.

And further:

In all his public declarations and speeches, with the exception of one or two occasions when he has been more explicit, General Dutra always leaves in doubt the identity of the enemy whom we have to fight. The words "fascism" or "Nazism" are never heard on his lips. In his orders to the commanders of corps His Excellency always mentions the Communist danger, but never a word of warning against the Nazi or Fascist regimes with which we are at war. From his speeches, which are so frequently quoted in civilian and military circles, one would think that Brazil's enemies were the Americans, the British, and especially the Russians, as well as the Germans, Italians, and Japanese. It is only now, at the very last minute, on the eve of his departure for the United States, where His Excellency

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is going to receive the homage of the American government, which has always been the object of his dislike—it is only now that we see with astonishment the sudden change in his opinions.

Other protests by prominent Brazilian leaders in exile, among them Armando Salles, former Governor of São Paulo, and Dr. Octavio Mangabeira, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, confirm the impression made by the documents we have quoted. We do not print them here since they have already been widely circulated.

A. DEL V.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

GERMAN political propaganda continues to observe the caution which it was taught by unhappy experience. It carefully avoids counting on the success of any military operation in advance of its completion. As these lines are written, the Germans are attacking at Anzio and Nettuno. The American newspapers are indulging in alarmed speculation. But the optimism that should be its counterpart in Germany is entirely lacking. There has been no announcement that the beachhead would be eliminated, no discussion even of such a possibility. Expectations are systematically kept low so as to rule out any disappointment.

In one connection only is there any deviation from this policy. The people are definitely assured that the coming invasion in the west will be a failure. That it will be attempted is not denied. But absolute confidence is expressed that the attempt will be smashed. A statement in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* of January 20 is one of a thousand that might be cited:

> We have no reason to conceal the fact that we are calmly awaiting the invasion attempt. We are even eager for it to be made, for, having confidence in our preparations, we consider it a means of shortening the war. The enemy's gigantic concentration between Iceland and the Azores will not bring him success. Germany, too, has planned every move very carefully.

It is more than questionable whether the German people share this confidence. An incident that occurred in Oberhausen, one of the great industrial towns of the Ruhr, shows rather that they are awaiting the invasion in a state of nervous tension. The leading newspaper of the region, Herr Göring's *National Zeitung*, on January 27 reported the incident as follows:

> Some time ago the rumor spread like wildfire through Oberhausen that strong formations of Anglo-Americans had landed on the Channel coast. It can scarcely be imagined how much time and nervous energy were lost through the excitement caused by this rumor. The number of working hours lost cannot be calculated. Of course the news was discussed endlessly in the factories.

The newspaper went on to say that the source of the rumor had been discovered. A workman made it up one morning to scare a companion. "By noon the story was known not only to everyone in the factory but to everyone in Oberhausen. The next day it spread to the neighboring towns."

The Minister of Finance in Germany, as in all the belligerent countries, is constantly worried by the growing excess of money in circulation. And like his colleagues he tries to draw off or freeze as much of it as possible. One of his devices should interest Mr. Morgenthau. A variation on the English system of compulsory savings, it is called "iron savings."

In England, as is well known, a percentage of everyone's wages is set aside in a savings account which cannot be drawn on during the war. Because of the element of compulsion Washington has refused to consider this very effective anti-inflationary measure. Now the Germans have devised a way to stimulate saving by making it not compulsory but extremely attractive. Nobody is obliged to but everybody may start a savings account which cannot be touched for the duration—and the amount put in is exempt from the income tax. This exemption is a very strong attraction. Several billion marks have been paid into the "iron-savings" accounts, even though the majority of the people are convinced that after the war the mark, and therefore all savings, will be practically worthless.

The induction of boys into the German war machine is making rapid progress. The latest news on this subject is that (1) all the seventeen-year-olds are now in the army; (2) the sixteen-year-olds were obliged to register for military service in January and their induction has begun; (3) it is now the turn of the fifteen-year-olds. Recently all German newspapers carried an announcement signed by Hermann Göring asking fifteen-year-old boys to volunteer for the Luftwaffe. The notice promised that all who joined now would receive officers' training—and not have to wait long to be called up.

But even that is not enough. Mobilization is now reaching down to the ten-year-olds! On December 11 a decree was issued making all boys and girls between ten and seventeen years subject to compulsory war work. On January 28 detailed rules for their employment were published. In principle the war work is to be carried on in conjunction with school instruction and service in the Hitler Youth, but when the three cannot be combined "without overburdening" the children, war work has first priority. A dispatch from Berlin printed in the *Aftontidningen* on January 22 said that the first consignment of these youthful forced workers had been selected. Some 53,000 boys and girls between thirteen and fifteen have begun to work in the armament factories.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Action Tomorrow

ACTION THIS DAY: LETTERS FROM THE FIGHTING FRONT. By Francis J. Spellman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY. By Francis J. Spellman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.

PHILOSOPHIES AT WAR. By Fulton J. Sheen. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

FLYING with him around the world, one learns to like Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York. A native, at some refueling place of his globe-spanning itinerary—February 9 to August 1, 1943—asked him how many stories high his archbishopric was; and no matter how tall the headquarters, the diocese of New York is large and mighty indeed. Yet its supreme dignitary has preserved the simplicity of a country curate. It is refreshing to read that "leaving Khartoum, one goes up the Nile flying south, which sounds strange to us, as along our rivers we usually go 'up' flying north"—or that "it is possible to see a great deal of Turkey from the car windows because many towns are located on the railway route." The reader who felt outraged by Monsignor Spellman's tribute to the Escorial of Philip II, the Inquisitor King—and gave public vent to his ire, heckling: "Better a pigsty!"—would have felt more relaxed if he had noticed how impartial is the elation of the winged prelate at whatever looms oversize and gorgeous. A priest of Baal, the man-eating god, he certainly is not; yet, no less than by the Escorial, he was overawed by the colossal ruins of Baalbeck—not to speak of the chandelier Queen Victoria presented to the Sultan, so huge that it could not be stood anywhere except in the custom-made palace that was erected as its container.

But the reader would also be wrong who thought that the charm of this diary lies only in its frequent attunement to states of mind whose classical models we recall from "Innocents Abroad." There is more than that. While preening himself with lovely candor on his proficiency in geography—or even in that auxiliary hobby, stamp collecting—the apostolic pilgrim keeps a truly open eye on all the shapes and colors of this attractive planet; and together with the poetic thrill goes the throb of a heart where all the griefs and trials of the human race are sure to stir an echo of mercy. There are, off and on, quick but memorable snapshots of his meetings with patient missionaries, with heroic nuns, in hospitals, in leprosaries, in scorched wastelands. And, above all, there are those paragraphs, as unassuming as they are impressive, in which he records how he felt when, a newly ordained young priest, he offered his first mass in Rome—how he feels now, an aging hierarch, as he offers mass in the other holy site, Jerusalem. No reader, be he a stony agnostic or an impenitent heretic, will remain untouched by the genuineness and contagion of that fervor.

Spellman's temper is, to speak in popular terms, of the "Franciscan" type. He knows it; indulging in occasional self-praise, he mentions his own "traditional meekness." In sharp contrast to it stands the mood of the other monsignor, Fulton J. Sheen, a "Dominican" character—if the word, as folklore has it, meant "hound of God, *domini canis.*" The aggressiveness of his proselyting zeal is manifest from the very front cover of a book which, however thin, wears no humbler a title than "Philosophies at War." His confidence in his own wisdom and science is uncompromising; his ardent hurry stops at nothing. It does not matter to him whether, when accusing Herder of racial prejudice, he had in mind Hegel (we guess) or some other infidel assonance; to correct the spelling of Treitschke ("Treitzscke," on the same page—maybe a crossbreed with Nietzsche) is to quibble, since no tough armor of consonants will make that worthy hellfire-proof anyway; Hume, Kant, and Voltaire, "corrosive men," find themselves in the same boat, to their mutual surprise; the French Revolution doubts, in Pirandello style, its own identity when court-martialed for the crime of having "isolated man from responsibility to a political community or the state." But doubt has no shadow to cast over Sheen's unrelenting pages; for does he not know, does he not notify the reader, that "we [Sheen] look at the war through the eyes of God"? Does he not add, as a seal to so remarkable an affidavit, that "our [Sheen's] approach is from the divine point of view"? The reader is speechless.

Only on one occasion would the reader like to stop the author for a moment and have his say; and this is apropos of a short story in which God is inescapably on the spot. "Some time ago a Nazi soldier in occupied France took his French wife into a hospital. Seeing a crucifix on the wall, he ordered the nun to take it down. She refused! He ordered her again saying that he did not want his child ever to look upon the image of a crucified Jew. The nun took it down under threats. The father's wish was fulfilled to the letter. The child was born—blind." Reacting to so cruel a passage, the reader—who, like the devil, can quote Scripture—wonders whether the author is not behind the times, not only our own and those to come, but the times of the ancient Ezekiel, through whose encouraging lips the Lord waived the right to be a Sheen-like God, and pledged that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father." Christ, we had been told, came as a healer to restore the eyesight of the sinner, not to blind his little children.

Yet even so strange a book has plausible pages. Those on the decay of the family are dictated by earnest passion—even though the thesis that a chief cause for this war lay in that decay is untenable if in Italy, motherland of Fascism and of Fascist aggression, the family institution was on the whole as firm as Monsignor Sheen and Monsignor Spellman might desire, with birth control banned by both church and state, and divorce forbidden, except when conceded under the name of annulment by the papal Curia to a few unhappy but wealthy pairs. The chapter on The Need of an Absolute is, in general, sensible. To be sure, it is difficult

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to extricate in one's memory or notes the quotations belonging to Sheen from those we owe to Spellman or to a hundred others. The critique—often, alas, too vague or sophomorically documented—of our aimless past and our confused present has become stock material, with whole pages and chapters interchangeable among thousands of books and articles, Catholic or not, and with the repetitious strain cheapening the idea while, perhaps, widening its influence and, let us hope, ripening our tragic society toward more fortunate efforts. When Sheen in the wake of Spellman, or Spellman in the wake of Sheen, says that hatred of Hitler alone will not win the war and the peace; when one and the other warn us that we know what we are fighting against but not what we are fighting for; when both, in unison with a most undenominational crowd, state that "the Sword cannot breed Peace," that "only a faith can prevail against a faith"—we have no objection to make. We all wholeheartedly agree that what is needed, as Sheen puts it, is "the offensive of a great idea."

What weakens the aid—highly relevant and welcome, no matter how belated—that is being proffered from strictly Roman quarters is the minor premise of a sophism running approximately as follows: the brotherhood of man is possible only under the fatherhood of God; but God speaks only through the Roman pontiff; hence, etc. It is one thing to proclaim that a competent medical science—as they put it, the vindication of theology—is indispensable for individual and social welfare; and quite another to prescribe, and if possible to administer by force, a particular formula or nostrum as the one cure-all and irreplaceable elixir of inextinguishable life. Picturesquely, as usual, Spellman upholds the monopolistic view even as he reports that the temple of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, formerly "a place of worship," later on became "a mosque," thereby implying that the word worship cannot be applied, without sullying it, to the piety of a Moslem. Vehemently, as usual, Sheen goes so far as to propose that the Roman pontiff should be present at the peace table—an acceptable proposition if the same invitation be extended to all chiefs of great spiritual collectivities, starting with Gandhi—while proposing, no less forcefully although less acceptably, that a victorious Russia be excommunicated from the coming League of Nations unless it consent to enact "freedom of religion." On the other hand, when they write "religion" they mean that particular religion; and freedom is defined, by Sheen and Spellman alike, as the "freedom to do what one ought to do." The definition is irrefutable, provided that no one—individual or institution—claims the authority, and the power, to decide, infallibly, "what one ought to do." Otherwise their "freedom" was described by the mild humorist of milder years who devised a "liberal" slogan with the first three words in large capitals and the other four on a line below in nearly invisible type: "LIBERTY FOR ALL who think like myself."

Spellman, while borrowing from an eminent friend, Mr. Churchill, the title of his recent book, "Action This Day," omits to tell us what the action, so pressing, was about. If these "letters from the fighting fronts" were our only source of information, his "dear father"—to whom the epistolary is supposedly addressed—and ourselves would be at a loss to understand how so conscientious a shepherd could roam so fancifully and extensively away from his diocesan flock—24 weeks, 46,000 miles—for the sake of sightseeing. We, however, and, we surmise, the good old man in Boston, are well posted on how weighty was the enterprise on which the Archbishop was engaged all through that time and space. No one played a more systematic role than his in promoting, between Casablanca and Salerno, what was to be called Demofascism, that is, Restoration; that is, liberty for all who think and act as they "ought to," in the shape of neo-Darlanism, or Badoglism, or appeasement of Franco, or any other variety.

Now the faith in that method of political warfare on the Italian battlefront is at the end of its rope. It does not seem to be much more successful in Algiers or Madrid. And the gate of Rome will open, perhaps soon; but it will be another Rome, sooner or later. "Just as we devote ourselves as a nation," said Dr. Douglas Horton only yesterday, "to putting down nationalism, so the denomination which is most in accord with the mind of Christ is the one which is the most intent on losing its life in a large whole." This applies to Dr. Horton's Congregational churches as it does to any other; and this is bound to be action tomorrow, outside as well as inside the Church of Rome.

Paying tribute not so much to the Escorial of Philip as to Franco Spain, Spellman blandly admits that "Spain needed reform and so does every nation and person." Yes, and every institution. Sheen exclaims, from the jacket of his book: "On the anvil of this war amidst the fire of sacrifice, there is being hammered out a new order and a new civilization." Yes, but new is not old. It has been said that no one can kill his successor. Neither can anyone, individual or society, beget his grandmother. G. A. BORGESE

The Romantic as Actor

GOOD NIGHT, SWEET PRINCE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN BARRYMORE. By Gene Fowler. The Viking Press. $3.50.

JOHN BARRYMORE was a very good actor as actors go, though just what and just how much such a statement means might be lengthily disputed. John Barrymore was also a romantic egotist of the Byronic type, and it is his personality rather more than his art with which the present generally admiring biography by a professional cynic is concerned. Mr. Fowler—ex-sports reporter, and author, among other things, of a flamboyantly jocose account of the career of Mack Sennett—knew Barrymore, apparently liked him, and without denying himself the privilege of recognizing some of his subject's absurdities, presents him in a favorable as well as frequently "glamorous" light.

Barrymore's alcoholism and miscellaneous philanderings were, Mr. Fowler seems to think, more obviously than is always the case, motivated by a profound impulse toward self-destruction; and the obscene public clownings of the last days were, he believes, expressions of Barrymore's self-contempt quite as much as of his contempt for the audience. His sister Ethel and his brother Lionel are both categorical in their statements that none of the trio really wanted very

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much to become an actor. John seems to have resented more than the others a family tradition which all but forced him on the stage. His lack of respect for his profession was increased by the ease with which he succeeded in it, and he felt some genuine shame at the thought that his "beauty" made him the object of attention which he felt contemptible. Various facts tend to confirm this diagnosis. He easily tired of parts. Only during the relatively brief period between his first serious success in "Justice" and his triumphant appearance in "Hamlet" did he work hard. And after "Hamlet" there seemed no other worlds worth conquering. The notorious slovenliness of his off-stage appearance and his avoidance of the rich and famous who were anxious to lionize him confirm the impression that he found his kind of success more painful than gratifying to his ego.

The question how much the romantic self-destroyer actually destroys is a question which is not only impossible to answer but difficult even to make a very responsible guess about. Other romantics usually tend to assume that almost any drunkard would have been a genius if he had stayed sober, but there is always, of course, the legitimate suspicion that the subject's own realization of how much more he expects of himself than he can ever hope to achieve is the real cause of the drinking. Bernard Shaw wrote Barrymore a blistering letter accusing him of having sacrificed a third of the text of "Hamlet" in order to leave time for his own pantomiming, but no one suspects that Garrick was not a great actor despite the fact that even more serious charges could be made against him; and when Barrymore refused to practice his own art he destroyed a performer who was, at the very least, a good deal better than most. If Mr. Fowler is to be believed, he also destroyed a rather attractive man who had wit—for example, the remark apropos the puffy ankles of his last phase: "It's the first time I ever saw an actor swollen at *this* end." But to judge the real personal worth of a romantic actor is even more difficult than to judge that of a romantic poet. As the biographer remarks in a—for him—unusually straightforward sentence, "One is never quite certain, when appraising the private lives of actors, as to where the realities cease and the simulations begin."

So far as the book as a book is concerned, it is unquestionably entertaining and full of the sort of gossipy anecdote which makes a wide appeal. It seems also intelligent in its analysis of character. Unfortunately, however, it is sometimes irritating in style, and it is not always presented in a fashion calculated to inspire complete confidence in its dependability. The author affects a flamboyantly jocose style in which a doctor is an "Aesculapius," a pot containing chili con carne is an "aromatic caldron," Broadway is "the street of fickle luster," and the fittings of a dingy bathroom are "cracked and homely porcelains." On the whole he depends less and less upon this sort of thing as the book proceeds, but he is also a victim of the dubious habit of being so anxious to be detailed and picturesque and vivid that he describes, both in direct discourse and with an abundance of particulars, scenes of which he cannot possibly have more than the most general sort of knowledge.

No doubt pedantry and footnotes are terrible things, but biography ceases to be biography unless the reader has at least some general idea of what is pure fancy and what rests

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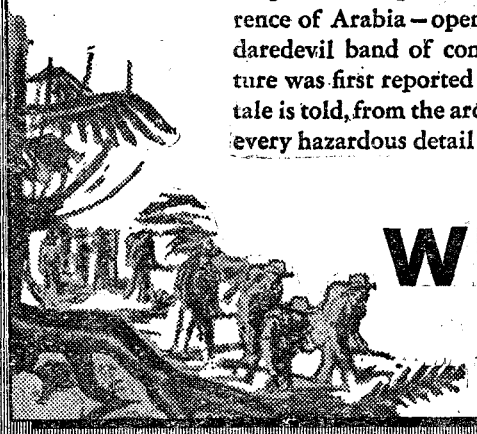

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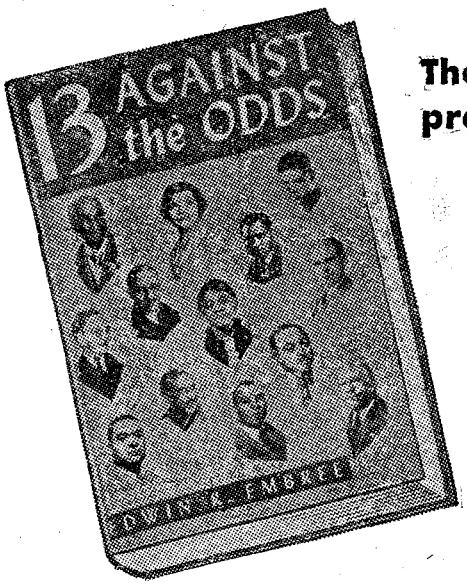

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upon some sort of evidence. Mr. Fowler seems to know, for instance, precisely what various ancestral Barrymores and Drews said on various crucial occasions. But it is remarkable that their turn of phrase is singularly like his own. If Barrymore *père* actually did call one of John's early teachers "a priest so honest that Diogenes would have put away his lantern, and so learned that Plato would have kicked Socrates in the behind," or if Grandmother Drew actually did say to Lionel after a doctor's visit, "Whatever it was that the learned calomel merchant has been telling you, pay no attention," then one can only say that the whole tribe spoke a language astonishingly similar to that later to be affected by the biographer of one of their descendants. And of course it is difficult, once one has begun to doubt the actual words, not to begin doubting the whole incident.

One elaborate story is told concerning some white mice which Lionel as a boy released in the house, with the startling result that the premises were presently overrun by hoards of mongrels, "blazed, piebald, calico, half-and-half, pink-eyed but brown-bodied." After that passage no Mendelian is going to have great confidence in the authenticity of any alleged incident reported without supporting affidavits.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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"Down Under"

PACIFIC PARTNER. By George H. Johnston. World Book Company. Distributed by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

BEFORE the war Australia had never made an automobile, chiefly because English manufacturers wanted to preserve a virgin colonial market. Now Australia makes not only tanks but also war planes. Before the war Australia had never disputed England in the matter of foreign policy. In 1941 Australia served notice upon England that it would not ratify any appeasement bargain which London might reach with Tokyo if it was detrimental to China. The land "down under" is growing up, and Mr. Johnston, a passionately patriotic Australian newspaperman, is proud.

He is proud of the fact that the Labor Prime Minister, John Curtin, is a policeman's son who had to quit school and go to work as a printer's devil when he was twelve, and that the Air Minister is a locomotive engineer, and that the Supply Minister began his career as a barber, and that the top military commander, Blamey, is a former police commissioner. He is proud that the income-tax rate rises to 92.5 per cent after $16,000 a year. Mr. Johnston is particularly proud that the Australian rulers of New Guinea never have permitted exploitation of the natives; instead the colonial policy has been "Papua for the Papuans." As a result, the Papuans worked unstintingly to help beat the Japanese—except one notoriously bad tribe which allied itself to the Japanese, then discovered its error, and later shamefacedly presented to the Australians, as prisoners, its own former leaders who had entered into the Japanese alliance.

An American soldier in Australia asked Mr. Johnston to recommend a book which would give a good general idea of the nation. There was no book to recommend, so Mr. Johnston wrote one. He included a dash of Australia's history, an outline of its political ideals, rather too much about the glory of its feats at arms, sketches of its leaders, and a good analysis of the over-all strategical war problem in that area. Although his book is more journalistic than scholarly, it presents a useful and entertaining picture of Australia at war and simultaneously in transition.

On the subject of General MacArthur, Mr. Johnston is obviously puzzled. He thinks the General has led Australia's forces well, but he cannot relish MacArthur's flamboyance, his "incredible veneer of showmanship." The author's real enthusiasm is for Lieutenant General George C. Kenney, the air commander whom Washington sent out to serve under MacArthur; his appointment was "one of Australia's luckiest breaks." It was General Kenney, according to Mr. Johnston, who patiently and tactfully persuaded MacArthur that the airplane could be useful in warfare.

Mr. Johnston is "convinced that MacArthur has no political ambitions in his own country, the United States." This conviction is by no means shared by newspapermen who have talked to the General more recently. On the contrary, a mounting mass of later evidence suggests that MacArthur now regards himself as the one man who could rescue the nation from President Roosevelt.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

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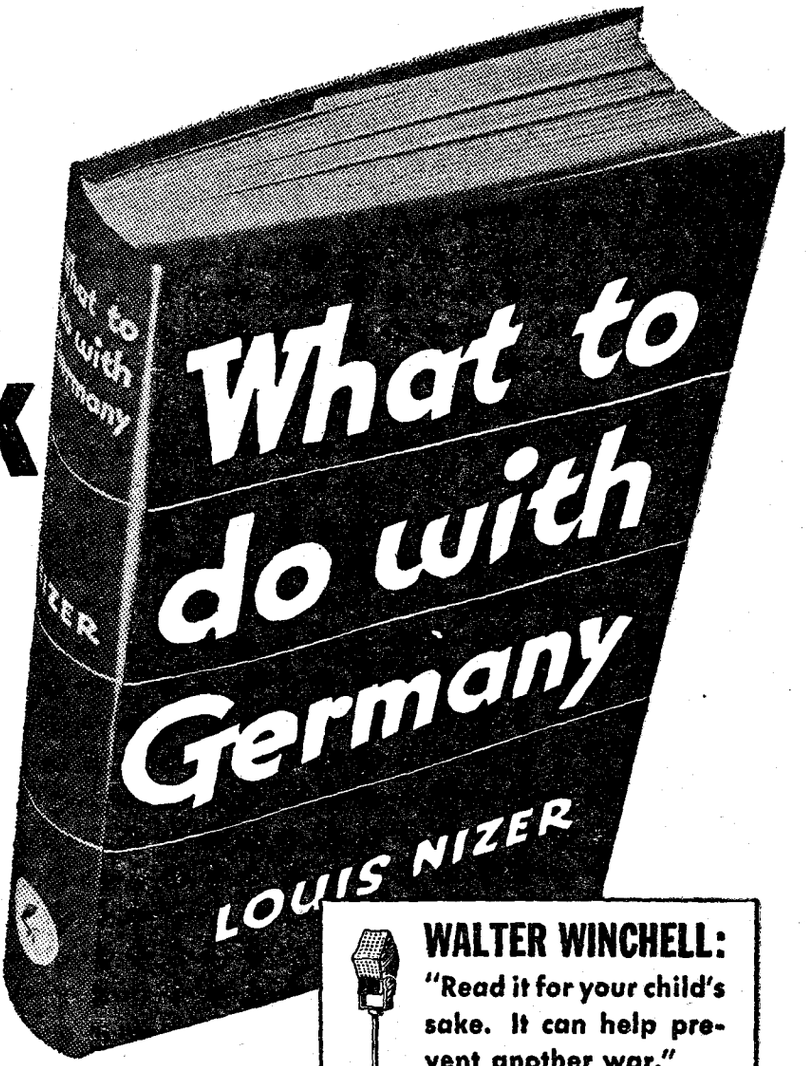

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Thurber's Creatures

MEN, WOMEN AND DOGS. By James Thurber. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

THE cartoon began as a reprover and corrector of mankind. For the liberties which it takes with the human form I think two things are largely responsible: the breakdown of the Renaissance conception of the personality and industrialism's mutilation of man. Being the first to witness the latter development, the English produced in Hogarth and Rowlandson the first great cartoonists. Thurber, another Anglo-Saxon, continues in his own minor way the criticism of humanity and society which they began.

Thurber's cartoons express the shamed amusement at itself of our literate middle class, with its frustration and boredom, its inability to be spontaneous except when drunk, its impersonal energy, and its desperate, sociable aggressiveness. The incompleteness of his creatures grows out of their surrender to simultaneous environmental and internal pressure, which squeezes to the surface the unattractiveness that is inside us all. There it clamors for love, attention, and excitement—and the less we get the more we want, being the neurotics we are. "Please let every moment be an adventure." The convulsive passes Thurber's creatures make at one another, their bursts of violence, exhibitionism, and irrelevance express the profoundest dissatisfaction with contemporary experience and, by inference, with society.

Thurber, whether he knows it or not, aims at a specific class—the people who read reviews like this and find or might find that the *New Yorker* satisfies a need. Humanity in general is not at issue.

The deepest emotion we receive from Thurber's drawings involves our lack of any desire to have his creatures actually exist, as, say, we might want Mutt and Jeff to. It is a part of our reaction to neurotics and neuroses—which in our time seem the only things capable of compromising human beings in their very essence, as sin once could. And then Thurber's art itself does not *do* enough. To a drawing by Rowlandson, you can say that only part of you is like that; the art itself shows how much of the hopeful is still left to be said. But seeing yourself reflected in a Thurber drawing, you are forced to admit that accidental resemblances are disastrous: if you are in any way like that you are hopelessly compromised. The fact is that Thurber is not good enough to take us out of the plight in which he finds us. The great defect of any humor less than first-rate is to define our limitations without by that very act transcending them. The only world it knows is the one you never made—whereas first-rate humor avows that everything can be converted into consciousness and the world become thereby one of our own making. Of course, the fault is only partly Thurber's. In Rowlandson's time it was still possible to conceive of an attainable way of life possessing dignity and interest. Today we can scarcely even dream of one.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
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Reviewed by George Genzmer

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IN BRIEF

THE BOOK OF CANADIAN POETRY. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by A. J. M. Smith. University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

For the serious student of Canadian poetry this book is indispensable. In time it spans 118 years; 76 authors are represented by 250 poems. These authors are introduced by biographical notes and, frequently, by individual critical estimates. Their work is presented under six different headings: Part I, Indian poetry and French-Canadian folk songs (other poetry in French is excluded from the intention of the volume); Part II, Pioneer and Emigrant: the Rise of a Native Tradition; Part III, The New Nationalism, "The Golden Age"; Part IV, Varieties of Romantic Sensibility; Part V, Modern Poetry: the Native Tradition; Part VI, Modern Poetry: the Cosmopolitan Tradition. There are also a bibliography, divided into several useful sections, and indices. The editor, A. J. M. Smith, himself a poet whose work deserves to be better known, contributes an introduction. In addition to patient scholarship, he has that other patience which enables him to see the poet beneath the trappings of fashion; and he understands well the peculiar problems of dress that colonialism imposes on literary aspirants. Unhappily, the general reader who does not possess his patience and insight will be apt to find the search for Canadian poetry something like looking for a needle in a haystack: pages 35-429 assay a good deal more verse than poetry, until one begins to wonder whether our increasing delight in the poems toward the end of the book may not be as much a recognition of contemporary fashion as of a poetic naissance. For the reader who feels that Mr. Smith's enthusiasm requires some corrosive correction, the poem entitled The Canadian Authors Meet, by F. R. Scott, is recommended.

MY REVOLUTIONARY YEARS. The Autobiography of Madame Wei Tao-ming. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

The life story of the remarkable wife of the Chinese ambassador to the United States is an epitome of recent Chinese history. Born into a Mandarin family and brought up under the regime of the Empress Dowager, Tcheng Soumay became a secret agent of the Kuomintang at the tender age of fifteen, as a dynamite runner. Later as a student in France she was involved in China's refusal to sign the Versailles treaty. Doctor of Laws of the Sorbonne, she became China's first woman lawyer, first woman magistrate, and first woman president of a law college. She was offered the post of Minister to France, but she preferred to remain at home as a leader of New China, where, like her husband and former law partner, she has taken a prominent part in civil administration and in national resistance.

THE INNOCENT EMPRESS: AN INTIMATE STUDY OF EUGENIE. By Erna Barshak. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

This is a sympathetic and well-grounded biography of a remarkable, fascinating, and curiously unsatisfactory woman. It is appropriately illustrated and written in a style characterized by both taste and point, in spite of a few minor lapses due to the author's lack of complete familiarity with the English language—turn of phrase, correct usage in regard to titles, etc. But these will not spoil the reader's pleasure. The author is a distinguished Central European psychologist now in this country.

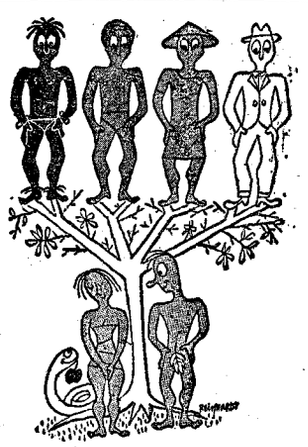
THE END IN AFRICA. By Alan Moorehead. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

This is an unusually worth-while book of its type, written by an Australian correspondent. The author's personal history and portraits of himself and the people, great and small, whom he encountered are truly incidental to the story of the Tunisian campaign, and broad political implications and the principles at stake are not lost sight of in the hurry of events and impressions.

FILMS

"PHANTOM LADY" is the first picture produced by Joan Harrison, who worked with Hitchcock as secretary, idea woman, and script writer from 1934 to 1941. Much of it is good. It is also a pleasure to see because Miss Harrison got to make it, apparently, through a combination of the strong arm, luck, and the sensible willingness of Universal's executives to take a chance on a B thriller; because within limits she clearly knows what she is doing; and because the critical and popular success of the film may possibly encourage other film executives to take chances on other dark horses and may also encourage other horses, dark or white-haired, to take chances with their best rather than their merely safe ideas and abilities.

Even so, I feel the film is being talked about a little too excitedly. Miss Harrison is doing nothing that Hitchcock has not done a great deal better, and little, for that matter, which was not a commonplace ten to fifteen years ago in American city melodramas. She is simply an intelligent, entertaining worker in an idiom which badly needs not only restoring but developing. She gets from Hitchcock none of his fine-grained business and eye for detail, only some of the broad and show-wise aspects of his style. She knows, for instance, when and how to use silence, and she has a better than average sense of place, mood, timing, cutting, and sound. She has a nicely unconventional sense of casting which brings one fine bit by a hatmaker who looks like a maltreated Renaissance angel, and which uses Franchot Tone as a cultivated paranoiac; but Tone's performance cannot get above his mediocre lines and her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fancy lighting of his obsessed hands. Miss Harrison seems, in fact, to know much less about people, and how they think, feel, talk, and move, than about effects. Some of the dialogue ("You should see how they've twisted him, hurt him . . . and his mind was so full of beautiful plans for model cities") is like a nail on a slate; and the producer also permits a good deal of amateurish reading. Even the effects are not all they might be. There is a suspense scene on a late-night Elevated platform which is excellent up to the ten seconds which should tighten and pay it off; there it shifts into second gear, and not even the frightening jolt of the turnstile which relieves it can rescue it. There is another scene, a jam session used as a metaphor for orgasm and death—which in turn become metaphors for the jam session—which is good but would gain, I think, if it were less intensely romanticized; the chief mistake there, it seems to me, is a narrow table crowded to all its edges with liquor bottles. That, too, is good, physically vivid metaphor; but it is juvenile-delinquent jazz. The late reels of the picture slacken, and the ending, upon which Universal insisted, is half-heartedly done. But this is written as a would-be corrective of too much indiscriminate praise. There is plenty in "Phantom Lady" to enjoy, and to be glad of. JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

MAHLER'S Fourth Symphony, which I heard for the first time when Bruno Walter conducted it recently with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, made me freshly aware of certain important qualities of Mahler's music and of the mind that produced it. The work is unusually relaxed, genial, gay, humorous; it is characteristically expansive and long-winded; but characteristic also is the unfailing alertness and attentiveness of mind that keeps the progression freshly interesting. It is only with such alertness and attentiveness that one can use a huge orchestra as Mahler does, choosing now these few instruments, now those to produce detail after detail that is as delicate and subtle as it is strikingly original. The same qualities of mind are evident in Mahler's daring harmony and counterpoint; and they make his thought as fascinating as his language and style.

In Mahler's music Walter's tendency to carry relaxation to the point of softness and slackness is not the weakness it is in Beethoven or Mozart; and the performance was superb. In its own way it constituted an additional devastating comment on the conception, the feeling, the style of Rodzinski's performance of Mahler's Second earlier in the season. And the pleasure which the orchestra had in working with a relaxed conductor instead of with a tensely driving one was audible in its playing.

Haydn's Quartet Opus 54 No. 2 in C major, which the Budapest Quartet played at its fourth Y. M. H. A. concert, is one of the works in which the Hadyn process that I have talked about produces a new breath-taking surprise with each movement—the unusual form of the slow movement, with lower strings gravely developing a single sustained phrase while the first violin soars above them in poignant quasi-vocal, quasi-improvisatory florid melody; the solemnity of the finale; and perhaps most amazing of all, the dissonances in the trio of the minuet movement, conveying a heart-piercing anguish. The effect of this trio was spoiled by the Budapest group's excessively fast tempo for the movement; aside from this the performance was one which only the Budapest Quartet itself could have surpassed; and the group would in fact have played the work with the same phenomenal beauty of sound, precision of ensemble, and subtlety of phrasing as it did Beethoven's Opus 135 if it had worked as long on the Haydn as it has on the Beethoven. Actually the two works sounded as though they were performed by two different groups; and the roughnesses heard in the Haydn were also heard in Mozart's Quintet K.593 in D major, which has its own breath-taking moments, particularly in the slow movement.

Victor's February list includes a new set (950; $4.50) of Chausson's Symphony in B flat performed by the late Frederick Stock with the Chicago Symphony. Chausson is known to most people through his "Poème" for violin and orchestra, which has long been one of the staples of the violin literature and more recently has been used by Antony Tudor for his ballet "Lilac Garden." The scale of the hauntingly lovely "Poème" is perfectly suited to its feeling and idiom; but in the Symphony these are inflated and expanded in a way that makes for grandiloquence and tedium. The performance seems excellent, and is recorded with superb fidelity, spaciousness, and richness. Played with a light, wide-range Brush pickup the surfaces of my copy are not quiet but are better than surfaces have been recently; with a heavy, limited-range Astatic Trutan pickup they are quiet.

Victor also has issued a set (929; $4.50) of the first four of the seven movements of Holst's Suite "The Planets": "Mars, The Bringer of War," "Venus, The Bringer of Peace," "Mercury, The Winged Messenger," and "Jupiter, The Bringer of Jollity." I recall my first hearing of this music at a Stadium concert in the mid-twenties, and the impact of the crescendo of the ominous ostinato rhythm in "Mars." This time there is no impact from that device; and all these pieces realize their programmatic content in a facile flow of third-rate music. The performances by Sir Ernest MacMillan with the Toronto Symphony seem good; and their recorded sound would be excellent if it were not blurred in heavily scored fortissimo passages by reverberation. With the Brush pickup the surfaces are a little noisier than those of the Chausson set; with the Astatic Trutan they are quiet.

Victor's set (955; $4.50) of excerpts from Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" spoken by Ralph Bellamy I played for a friend with more knowledge of the subject than I have, whose comment formulated the impressions I had received. Briefly, it was that Bellamy does not have the vocal resources for the reading of poetry that Maurice Evans, for example, brings to the recorded excerpts from "Richard II"; and that his way of dealing with it is to speak it as prose. B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Mothers, Inc.

Dear Sirs: Although Mrs. Dilling is indicted again, her "thundering herds," as she calls her followers, are at their posts. They may seem to be under cover, as compared to pre-Pearl Harbor days when their mourners' veils darkened the Senate galleries and when they stampeded the offices of Congressmen who did not share their views, but the Mothers, Incorporated, are still on the job.

In Chicago their most recent appearance was at the United Nations Association Congress on January 15. They entered the last session separately and seated themselves in different parts of the hall almost as though they were normal human beings. What provoked their wrath was references to Russia, Great Britain, or a lasting peace. When the chairman had finally spotted all the incorporated mothers and had ceased to recognize them, they turned to noisier tactics. One of them stamped up the aisle shouting their favorite refrain, "Hucksters of Other Men's Blood!" while others screamed, "Slackers!" Apparently there was one incorporated father in their midst, a dilapidated-looking fellow who offered himself to the assembly as Presidential candidate. All he asks is cash to finance his campaign, and then he will settle "the double-crossers in Washington," who "stole their ideas from the Nazis." His platform clarifies the five enemies of our country: (1) the British Empire, (2) the Russian Communists, (3) the German Nazi Party, (4) the Japanese Empire, and last and greatest, from the space given this point, the "F. D. R. Gang." Meanwhile, on a more dignified plane, other women distributed brochures announcing the Women's League for Political Education, whose lofty message to the "Mothers and Daughters of America" sounds like the League of Women Voters with a drop of poison underneath.

This particular appearance of the Mothers is of interest because it is typical and not unique. A liberal Catholic reports that these women haunt his lectures, and once in a paroxysm of enthusiasm two of them heiled Hitler in front of him. Chicago may be a center for such groups, and there were enough of them to fill their own meeting for Gerald Smith the other night when they booed England, the Jews, Roosevelt, and Willkie. Nevertheless, delegates at the congress told of similar activities in cities as far apart as Los Angeles, Detroit, and New York.

During the next critical months these activities will probably increase. Since they are trained for the offensive, while an audience is unprepared and bewildered, the intruders can waste considerable time if they do not actually sow dissension and break up the meeting. Nevertheless, it is the Mothers who are really on the defensive. Ask them to state their names, mention the FBI and "Under Cover," and they become suddenly tongue-tied or look for an exit.

E. T. D.

Chicago, Ill., January 19

Independent Poll

Dear Sirs: A few weeks ago Harrison Spangler announced that a Presidential poll had been taken in England by some army officers, and that the G. O. P. had come out on top by a small majority.

I decided to take a poll of my own unit as between Roosevelt and Dewey, the likeliest candidates. I intended to get at least 300 votes but stopped at 149 when I read about the hot water Spangler and his officers have got into for conducting the straw vote. Here are the results: Roosevelt, 112; Dewey, 29; Undecided, 8.

Incidentally, the soldiers here are mostly all Northerners. The main factor for the Roosevelt runaway was definitely "Don't change Presidents during the war." Many fellows told me they were 100 per cent Republican but absolutely would not vote for a new President. And a few others didn't believe me when I told them of the November elections. They said it was unlawful and unthinkable to hold a Presidential election in war time.

I was amazed and delighted by the results of my poll, which I believe is indicative of the soldier vote anywhere.

This is what I read in headlines on the second page of yesterday's newspaper: "Fourth Term? Soldiers and Marines Say No; Navy Yes." And here are the figures in the straw vote taken by Pat Robinson of INS in the South Pacific area:

Do You Favor a Fourth Term for the President?

	Yes	No
Army, Marine Officers...	166	190
Army, Marine Enlisted...	220	251
Navy Officers	90	82
Navy Enlisted	163	161
Colored Soldiers	85	0

Maybe we don't all add the same way.

Incidentally, many men might not favor a fourth term but would still vote for Roosevelt in preference to the Republican candidate.

After talking to 149 soldiers there is no doubt in my mind that the election won't even be close—at least so far as the service men are concerned.

CORPORAL M. A. B.

Somewhere in Texas, February 1

Russia and Bukovina

Dear Sirs: I do not understand how, in Leigh White's generally fair and competent review of "Road to Peace and Freedom," he came to make a comment so misleading to readers as his discussion of what I said about the Russian occupation of northern Bukovina. It is quite true, and I thank him for calling attention to it, that I incorrectly spoke of this phase of Russian territorial expansion as occurring in 1939. But in commenting on my statement that the purpose of the occupation was "to give Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia a common boundary along the Carpatho-Ukraine," he says that I ventured a little beyond my depth because, "actually, Bukovina was not occupied until June 27-30, 1940, when Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist and when the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine had been occupied by Hungary."

Any reader of the review would assume that, in addition to the error as to the date, I had through ignorance failed to take account of facts which vitiated my argument. Who would dream that in the very next sentence I had said that "the actual effect at the time was to provide a common frontier with Hungary," because of its prior seizure of the Carpatho-Ukraine? Contrasting effect and purpose, I went on to say that "Russia's present [1943] support of the Czechoslovak title to the Carpatho-Ukraine, which would deprive Russia of a common frontier with

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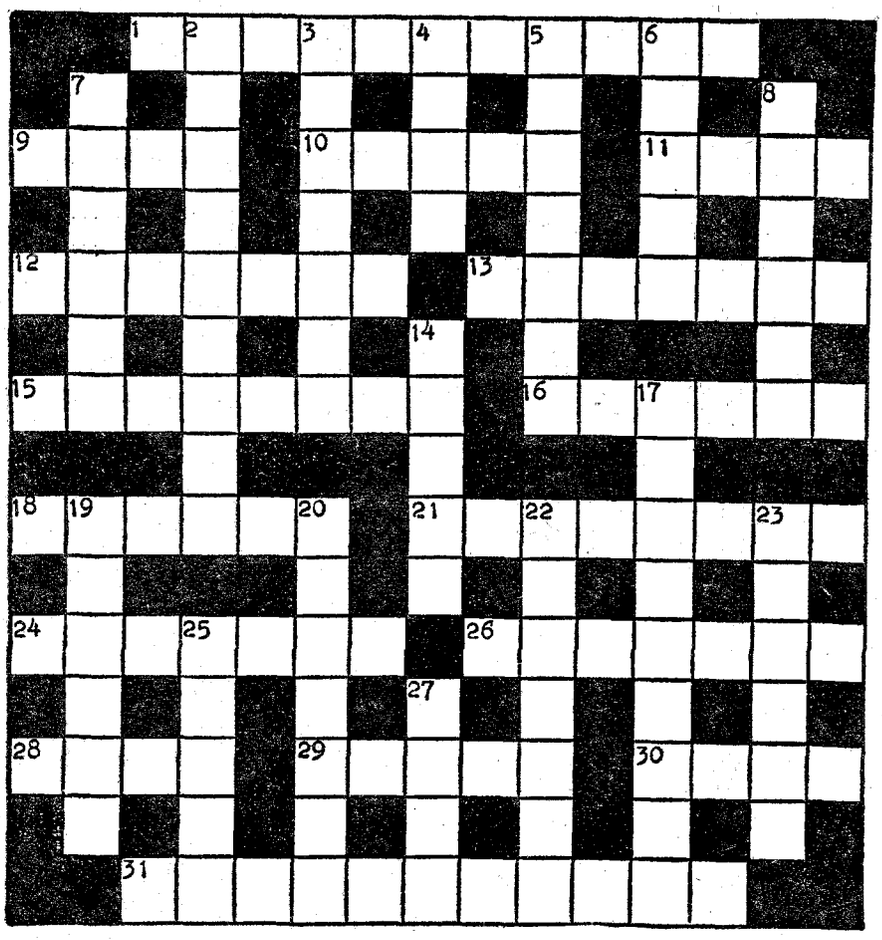
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 53

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 People who snore do and are (two words, 5 and 6
9 A finger in the pie? No, fifty, and that's a heap
10 A model world
11 A kick from a horse
12 Journalistically sent by telegraph
13 "One self-approving hour whole years outweighs Of stupid ------- and of loud huzzas" (Pope)
15 Set free
16 Broadcasters, but not on the radio
18 Wrap up closely—anyway, with a couple of articles following direction
21 Belief that includes Paradise
24 Shades of Arabian Nights? Well, one of them (two words, 3 and 4)
26 "He's rude!" (anag.)
28 You couldn't dub Leander this
29 Hold forth
30 A jewel is as nothing with a real friend
31 Little looked after, and somewhat mean (hyphen, 5 and 6)

DOWN

2 Fly beyond the mark
3 An arm goes back and gets things worth finding
4 The people who run this throw off all restraint
5 His duel with Hamlet really started something
6 What a break of three produces
7 French poet who confessed that he knew everything except himself
8 Sporting employee who keeps his board in order
14 Order that is changed when cited
17 "Never mind the why and --------, Love can level ranks, and therefore . . . " (H. M. S. Pinafore)
19 Character in Pickwick Papers ("Sam, beware of the vidders")
20 Oil added to a dying ember is likely to cause trouble
22 Ten pies for a sculptor
23 Living together
25 Great commercial activity about middle age—the prime, in fact
27 Far from excited; still it may be

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 53

ACROSS:—1 HARD PRESSED; 9 PENELOPE; 10 ROWERS; 11 MACRAME; 12 MEANDER; 14 SEXTET; 15 OBSCURED; 17 CRYSTALS; 20 ADDUCE; 22 UNROLLS; 24 RETRACT; 26 TAKING; 27 AGITATOR; 28 PROOF-READER.

DOWN:—2 ABERRATES; 3 DOORMAT; 4 REEL; 5 STREETS; 6 EDWIN; 7 MENAGE; 8 BREEZE; 13 HORSE; 16 UNDERRATE; 18 RANDAN; 19 ALLEGRO; 20 AMERICA; 21 CUCKOO; 23 OSIER; 25 LAIR.

Hungary and give her one with Czechoslovakia instead," leads to the conclusion "that Russia's occupation of northern Bukovina was in anticipation of the restoration of Czechoslovakia to its pre-Hitler status."

I can point to a couple of other dates in the book that are incorrect, but anybody who doubts the soundness of this interpretation of the motive for Russian seizure of Bukovina need only read the news accounts of the treaty just signed between Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia, and note the heavy emphasis placed upon a common frontier. Finally, I have never thought it necessary to discuss Czechoslovakia as if it no longer existed, even if the State Department did ask the National Geographic Society to eliminate it from its post-1939 maps.

IRVING BRANT

Gatlinburg, Tenn., February 2

Knockdown House

Dear Sirs: As a postscript to the exceptional article by Francis Westbrook, Jr., in your issue of January 8 on Houses on the Belt, let me say that the first prefabricated house of which I can find any record in this country was set up in Windsor, Connecticut, by William Holmes.

Holmes, a settler at Plymouth, Massachusetts, began trading knives and mirrors with the Indians in 1633. Two years later, having stored a knockdown house in his hold, he sailed defiantly past the fortified post of the Dutch at Hartford, notwithstanding a threat to open fire, and proceeded to the mouth of the Tunxis (Farmington) River, and set up his house at Windsor, the first permanent settlement in Connecticut.

One may reflect with envy in these days that the people of Windsor paid their town taxes in onions.

SILAS BENT

West Palm Beach, Fla., January 11

The Obverse

Dear Sirs: Your In the Wind department of January 22 took a gentle dig at me, under the caption "Immaculate Fertility," for a sentence in my book "The World of Sholom Aleichem"—to wit: "Jews were too busy having children to bother with sex." But if you invert the sentence you'll get the obverse truth: "People are too busy with sex to bother having children."

MAURICE SAMUEL

New York, January 27

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